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THE
S P E E C H
OF
Mr. John Talbot Compo-bell,
A FREE
CHRISTIAN-NEGRO, &c.



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1850

THE
S P E E C H
O F
Mr John Talbot Campo-bell,
A F R E E
C H R I S T I A N - N E G R O ,
T O H I S
C O U N T R Y M E N
I N
The Mountains of Jamaica.
In T W O P A R T S.

Καθόλε ποτέ οὐτός εἴσιν, ὅταν τις ἐπιτίμη
ἄλλος ἢ αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ ποιήσειν ἀν· οὐ περιγέπει
ποιεῖν ἢ αὐτὸς μὴ ποιεῖ, μηδὲ ποιήσειν ἀν.

Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23.

That which I see not, teach thou me: If I have
done Iniquity, I will do no more.

Job xxxiv. 32.

To which is subjoin'd the S P E E C H of
Moses Bon Sàam, another Free Negro.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms
in Warwick-Lane, 1736,





T H E
S P E E C H
 O F
Mr John Talbot Campo-bell,
 A F R E E
C H R I S T I A N - N E G R O , &c.

P A R T I.

C O U N T R Y M E N ,

IN a War between the Kings of *Congo* and *Angola*, my Father and all his Family, with above Three Hundred of our Neighbours, were taken Prisoners, in one Morning, by one of the Enemy's Parties. The Slave-Traders (sent

B from

from *Europe* under the Protection of the Nations to which they belong) lay gaping for us on the Coast, whither we were directly carried, and sold (as you know the Custom is in all our Countries) to those Traders by our Captors, or their Agents. Fifty of us, with about Two Hundred and Fifty more of (at least) ten different Nations in *Africa*, were clapp'd on board an *English* Ship, belonging to three or four eminent Merchants in *London*, one of whom, as I have since heard, was then Lord Mayor of that City. All the Men were immediately handcuff'd and shackled, Two and Two, and lodg'd in one Apartment; and the Women and Children in another. As we lay at Anchor, several Designs were formed to kill the Master and Sailors, and make our Escape; but they kept so good a Guard that nothing could be done. And indeed had we destroy'd them all, our Condition would have been the same, or rather worse than it was; for we shou'd soon have been reduced by the other Ships that lay near us, and divided amongst them; or, supposing we cou'd have escap'd safe to Land, the *white* People on the Coast, or the *Negro-Nation* that inhabited there, would have made us Prisoners a second Time, and either restor'd us to the Factors of the former Purchasers on a Salvage, or sold us again to some

some of the other Ships ; or if neither of these, they would have kept us for the next Market. Nothing was attempted till eight or nine Days after we had left the Coast ; and then one of our stoutest Men having made a Shift to work off his Irons in the dark, he presently knock'd off the Irons of another, and in a little Time almost all of them got unfetter'd, when sallying forth, all of the sudden, on the Ship's Crew, they made towards the Chest of Arms, but in vain ; however, what with the Irons they had knock'd off of themselves, and what with the other Implements they could pick up in the Ship, three or four of the Sailors were kill'd, and two toss'd over-board ; and before the Insurrection could be quell'd, many of our Men were slain, and more wounded ; and some that had been most active in the Fight, being afraid of Punishment, or perhaps disdaining to live, leapp'd into the Sea, and perish'd. I think we lost near Fifty in all. And happy was it for us that we did not gain the Victory, and kill the *Whites* to a Man, as (I suppose) is always done when our Countrymen get the better at Sea ; for then we must have perish'd for want of Skill to navigate the Vessel. 'Tis true these Skirmishes happen but now and then, our Men either growing faint-hearted when out of Sight of Land,

or else being so narrowly watched as to have no Opportunities of exerting themselves ; but thus it was in the Ship that brought me hither, and thus it is too often in others, as these *Whites* know to their Cost. The Small-pox breaking out soon after, swept away about an Hundred more of us. On our Arrival here, the Supercargo, or the Factors of the *London* Merchants who own'd the Ship (I don't remember which) made Publication, that having imported from *Guinea* One hundred and fifty *Negro-Slaves*, Men, Women, and Children, the same wou'd be sold on such a Day to the best Bidders ; and accordingly we were all brought ashore, and sold on that and the two following Days ; and our Importers gave the Purchasers the same Title to us that our Conquerors in *Africa* had given to them, *i. e.* neither of them made any other Articles in our Behalf, than a Man who sells a Horse or a Cow in open Market usually does for those Brutes.

I was scarce seven Years old when I was thus sold, with my Father and Eight more of our Kindred and Acquaintance to a Planter up the Country, who taking a Liking to my Face, put me to School for two Years, and then had me baptiz'd. At first he gave me the Name of *John*, but at my Baptism *Talbot* was added to it, as having been the Surname of my Mistress, and

and afterwards when I was confirm'd with my young Master by the Bishop of *London*, a Person of Quality then present (by whose Means I have receiv'd many Favours since) wondring and pleas'd to see one of our Colour at Confirmation, vouchsafed to honour me with the further Addition of *Campo-bell*. My Father soon grew weak and sickly, and did not live above three Years; his last Words were (speaking to me in our own Language, as he always did) *Not to forget my Mother-Tongue, but rather to study to improve in it*; for he seem'd to have a strong Apprehension, that I might, one Time or other, contribute to the bringing over some of our Countrymen to the Ways and Religion of the *English*, which was his Heart's Desire; and so punctual have I been in obeying his dying Command, that I can now speak three of the most current Languages in our Parts of *Africa*. Not many Months after his Death, my Master sent his eldest Son, who was about the same Age with me, to *England* for Education, when he was also pleas'd to pitch on me to wait on him, which I did first at a Grammar School in *Yorkshire*, and next at *Oxford*, where, and at *London*, he continu'd till his 21st Year, and then travell'd through *France*, *Holland*, and some other Places for near three Years. I had never been treated like

like a *Slave*, and in all our Studies and Travels the young Gentleman used me rather as a Companion than a Servant. In his 25th Year he return'd to this Island, when he was to have procur'd my Manumission in Form, but happen'd to be prevented by my old Master, who dying, alas ! some Weeks before our Arrival, had not only left me my Freedom in his Will, but also a Dwelling-house, and two *Slaves* of my own Colour to wait upon me. I ought not to conceal that I was born a *Slave*, as all my Forefathers were time out of mind.

Whether the War in which I was made a Captive, was just or no, I was too young to judge ; but I have heard my Father say, that, next to the brutal Fierceness and unbounded Avarice of the Two Kings, 'twas chiefly owing to the underhand Practices of the Emissaries of some of those from *Europe* who have Settlements on the *Guinea* Coast, or who come to Trade with our Countrymen there ; which is not improbable, considering the Reason of those Settlements, and the Account on which these Merchants come, *viz.* to carry on the *Slave*-Trade ; especially if to this it is added, that these Wars are always lasting, and, notwithstanding the savage Temper of our People, seldom bloody. But passing that, 'tis certain that many of yourselves,

yourselves, or of your Forefathers, were taken, and sold in the manner I was ; for it is the Custom in our Countries, as some of you cannot but know, to kill the Captives that are not fit for Sale, *i. e.* such as no body will buy, and to sell the rest ; and we must all acknowledge, that if our Side had prevail'd, we should have serv'd our Captives no better than we have been serv'd. Men, Women, and Children, are consider'd with us as the Growth or Manufacture of the Country, and are treated accordingly by their Owners, *i. e.* by their Princes, Masters, or Parents ; and if at any time this is thought inconvenient, or not sufficient for the Purposes of Trade, the Prince and People of one Nation are easily perswaded to pick a Quarrel, and to go to Blows, with the Prince and People of another Nation, and then the Victors dispose of the Vanquish'd, just as the *white* People here dispose of their Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, to those that will give most for them. Some of you were *Slaves* in *Africa*, where Servitude, as you know, is propagated from Father to Son for ever, and where the Masters or Owners sell their *Slaves* to one another, or to Foreigners, on the same Condition on which themselves possess them. Among us, bare Suspicion in the Husband will justify him in selling his Wife for a *Slave*. A small

matter of Theft will, in many of our Countries, condemn both the guilty Person and his whole Family to Servitude, or, if Purchasers cannot be found, to present Death : and there are many other Laws with us, the Violation whereof will have the same Effect, as you see some *Whites* are banish'd to this Place from *England*, for breaking the Laws of that Country. And tho' I trust there is nothing of it now, yet it might be prov'd from * Letters and Depositions not to be contested, that some of our Countrymen have been stollen or decoy'd from their Homes by some from *England*, who dealt in the *Slave-Trade*; I mean by those that were call'd *Interlopers*, for I have not heard that any from *England*, in the Service of Companies, have been accused of it. And I can assure you, the *stealing* of *Men* looks so black among all the Nations of *Europe*, that could it be legally prov'd on any of their People, no Punishment would be thought too severe for them: All the Difficulty lies in finding that Proof; which, no doubt, is one Reason why these *European* Nations have, in a manner, constantly carry'd on the *Slave-Trade* by exclusive Companies.

* See a Book, intituled, *Reflections on the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa*, in Folio, Part II. London, printed by J. Morphew, 1709.

The

The Portuguese first began this Trade with us, in order to work their own and the Spanish Gold and Silver Mines in America. The Dutch next, observing what a precious Commodity Negro-Slaves soon became in the West-Indies, went heartily into it and pursued the Trade so close as quickly to be able to furnish the Spaniards and Portuguese, and all other European Nations that had got footing in America, with such Slaves, and at a cheaper Rate than any of them cou'd furnish themselves; and wou'd doubtless have done so much longer than they did, had not the English Navigation-A^ct obstructed them *. For till then, for One English there went Ten Dutch Ships to Barbadoes, and the other Sugar Islands.

England (the Nation I am principally to speak of) has six Sugar Colonies in the West-Indies, viz. Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the four Leward Islands; for Anguilla, Tortola, and Spanish-Town, are scarce worth naming. Barbadoes and the Leward Islands began to be settled by the English some time between the Years 1620 and 1630, when England had no great Trade to the Coast of Guinea, or not for Slaves; so that all the Labour in those Islands was, for near the first Thirty Years (except that the

* See Sir Jesiah Child's New Discourse of Trade, p. 185. London printed 1693.

Dutch imported some *Negro-Slaves* among them) perform'd by *white Servants* from Home, and might have continu'd so to this Day with more Advantage, and less Difficulty, to *England* than any other *European* Nations cou'd have supported their Colonies here with Hands of their own. During the Civil Wars in *Great Britain*, many *white People* of the better Sort went, or were sent, over to *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands*; *Cromwell's* Usurpation, the sore Defeats at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, and the Reduction of *Ireland*, made considerable Additions; and these, with the vast Numbers that came, and were flocking over both to those Islands and This, upon King *Charles's* Restoration, wou'd soon have prov'd a Number every Way sufficient to have maintain'd the Trade of all the *English Sugar Colonies*, or at least have enabled them to outstrip any of their Neighbours or Rivals in the *Sugar Manufacture*, &c. But a Notion happened then to prevail at * the Court of *England*, (and Petitions and Representations were drawn in to countenance it) That if the People were suffer'd to go to the *West-Indies* in such Multitudes, the Nation wou'd lose more Hands than was fit for her to spare. 'Twas not long before this appear'd

* *Reflections on the Constitution, &c. of the Trade to Africa*, Part I. p. 5.

to be a Mistake ; for all the Hands that came then, whether to the *Northern* or *Southern Colonies* of *England*, were none of the best, and * such as otherwise must have starved at Home, or fled to foreign *European Countries* for Bread or Shelter, as very many did at that Time to *Holland*, and elsewhere. The Truth is, *England* was then beginning to taste the Sweets of the *Sugar-Trade*, and look'd with a wishful Eye on the Gains that Others were making from the *Slave-Trade*, and therefore resolv'd to come in for a Share of it. This she did to some Purpose, notwithstanding the severe Blow *De Ruyter* gave her on the Coast of *Guinea* in 1665, † when he destroy'd most of the *English Factories*, took *Cormantine-Castle*, *Tocorary-Fort*, and other Places on that Coast, and seiz'd, in Ships and Goods of their Company, to the Value of above 200,000*l.* Sterling. This was soon got over by King *Charles II*; the then Duke of *York*, who understood Trade beyond any Man, condescended to be at the Head of this ; and had it not been for the Odium of the Thing, which no single Nation coveted to ingross, *England* might have long enough ago been sole Mistress of the *Slave-Trade*. From that Moment it become impossible

* Sir *Josiah Child's* New Discourse, p. 172,

† *Reflections on the Trade to Africa*, Part I. p. 6.

for the white Hands in the *English Sugar Colonies*, to carry on the *Sugar Manufacture*; the *white Servants* fail'd in a little Time, and no suitable Recruits coming from Home, the Masters were reduced to the Necessity, either of relinquishing the *Sugar Manufacture*, or of carrying it on with the *Slaves* their Mother Country brought to their Door from *Africa*. And to such a Height is the *English Share* of this Trade now arriv'd, that, beside the *Negro-Slaves* in the *North Colonies* of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *South Carolina*, &c. and those that are or may be revolted in the *West-Indies*, their Number in the *Sugar Islands* is a good deal above 200,000 *, thus

In <i>Barbadoes</i>	—	—	70,000
<i>Antego</i>	—	—	23,000
<i>Montserrat</i>	—	—	7,000
<i>Nevis</i>	—	—	7,000
<i>S. Christopher's</i>	—	—	17,000
<i>Anguilla, Tortola, and Spa-</i>	<i>nish-Town</i>	—	5,000
<i>Jamaica</i>			
	—	—	110,000
			—
			239,000

* See, *A Supplement to the Detection of the State of the present Sugar Planters of Barbadoes, &c.* p. 67. London printed 1733.

And

And the Yearly Importation of *Slaves* from *Africa* into the same Islands (not including those that are re-exported on Account of the *Affiento Contract*, or otherwise) cannot be less than 15,000 ; to make up which Number there must, considering the many *Negroes* that die in the Passage, be upwards of 20,000 exported from *Africa* ; and then as, by the common Computation, about two Fifths of the new-imported *Negroes* die in the *Seasoning* ; and as the *Decrease* of the *Negroes* in * *Barbadoes*, for Example (by which one may judge how it is in the other *Sugar Colonies*) requires an annual Supply of about 2800 ; and as *England* seems to have no Thoughts of carrying on her *Sugar Manufacture* by *white Labourers*, or by any other than the *Slaves* that are and have been brought from *Africa* ; and lastly as *England*, in imitation of other *European Nations*, is bent on improving her *Sugar Settlements* in the *West-Indies*, it may be concluded, that this Importation of our Countrymen will rather increase than be diminish'd.

You have heard who they are that sell these *Slaves* in *Africa*, even our own Countrymen ; I will now tell you who take them off their Hands. These are

* See *The present State of the British Sugar Colonies consider'd*, 4to. p. 23. London printed 1731.

of three Sorts : First, the Traders, among whom I reckon those in *England* who fit out Ships, and send out Cargoes to *Guinea* to purchase these Slaves ; all that are concern'd in rais'g or manufacturing the Goods in *England*, or that designedly import such Goods from *Holland*, or elsewhere, as are necessary to purchase them from our Countrymen on the Coast; together with all that are employ'd in navigating the Vessels necessary to carry on the Trade, or that have the Direction of it in *England*, or on the Coast of *Guinea*, or in the several Factories on the *English Sugar-Islands*. The next are the *English Planters* and *Inhabitants* of these Islands, who settled here with no other View than to carry on their lawful Business, viz. the producing or manufacturing of *Sugar*, *Rum*, *Molasses*, *Cotton*, *Indigo*, *Aloes*, &c. in the Manner that Lands are cultivated, and Manufactures carried on in *England*, with Hands of their own Colour; and who in Fact did so, and would have gone on in the same Tract still, had they not been diverted from it as has been already said. The third is the *Nation*, to whom the Traders who buy us up in *Africa*, and the *white Inhabitants* of these *Sugar Colonies* who buy us again from them, do belong, viz. *England*. Now, when a Ship has clear'd at the

Custom-

Custom-house, and sets out from the Port of *London*, *Liverpool*, or *Bristol*, for the Coast of *Guinea*, to purchase a Loading of rational Creatures, *Men*, *Women*, and *Children*, who differ in nothing from the Purchasers but some unessential Matters— were a Ship thus qualified to be attack'd or molested in her Voyage thither, or from thence to the *British Sugar-Islands*, or from them in her Return home, by any that are not in a declar'd War with *England*, the Persons so attacking or molesting her would be deem'd Pyrates, or Enemies of Mankind, and be treated every where as such when taken : And were the Planters, to whom these *Slaves* are sold here, to refuse to pay the Purchase-money agreed on with their Importers or Venders, or not to pay it according to Agreement, the Law of *England* would compel Payment in the same manner that it compels other just Debts to be paid. From whence and much more that might be produced, it seems evident, that *England* admits and approves of this Trade in its several Branches.

What kind of People our Countrymen in *Africa* are, who first sell these *Slaves*, some of you have too much Cause to know, and all of you have heard ; but I believe you are altogether ignorant of *England*, which promotes and protects this Traffic.

Traffic. Know then that *England* is, and has been, long divided into two grand Factions, *viz.* *Royalists* and *Republicans*; for to these all the Subdivisions, which are numerous enough, may be referr'd, as either leaning to, or retaining under, the one or the other. The first is for Kingly Government, which hath been tried in *England* for many Ages; the second for being govern'd by the People, or such a Number of them as shall be chosen by the Whole to govern the Whole; and this was also tried in *England* for some Years about the Middle of the last Century. Now the former of these, if ask'd, will own, at first Hearing, that the making *Slaves* of our Fellow-creatures is abominable both before God and Man, and one of the Bishops of that Side, who was esteem'd a wise and honest Man, and well skill'd in Matters of Conscience, declares thus concerning it, * "Lands, Hous-
" ses, Cattle, and other like Possessions
" made for Man's Use, are the proper Sub-
" ject-matter of Trade and Commerce,
" and so are fit to pass from Man to Man
" by Sales, and other Contracts. But that
" *Man*, a Creature of such Excellency,
" stamped with the *Image* of God, en-
" dow'd with a *reasonable Soul*, made ca-

* Bishop Sanderson's 7th Sermon *ad Aulam*, preach'd July, 1638.

" pable

" pable of *Grace* and *Glory*, should pro-
 " *flare in foro*, become merchantable Ware,
 " and be chaffer'd in the Markets and
 " Fairs; I suppose had been a thing never
 " heard of in the World to this Hour,
 " had not the Overflowings of *Pride* and
 " *Cruelty*, and *Covetousness*, wash'd out of
 " the Hearts of Men the very Impressions
 " both of *Religion* and *Humanity*." 'Tis true
 he preach'd this before the Servitude of
 our Countrymen was established in the
British Sugar-Colonies; and it is also true
 that since its Establishment here, which
 was about the Time of the Restoration of
 Kingly Government in *England*, the Bi-
 shops seem to have avoided to speak of the
 Merits of the Case, whether at Court, or
 any where else. At the Revolution, when
 the latter Party had got, or conceited they
 had got, a good Interest in the Govern-
 ment, nothing was to be heard every
 where but *Liberty*, the *Law of Nature*,
 the *natural Rights of Mankind*, whereof
Liberty is one, which ('tis said) they might
 be *robbed of*, but could never *forfeit*, and the
 like; and the bringing any of the Human
 Race into Slavery was pronounc'd execrable.
 Then, if ever, it was thought this Servi-
 tude of our Countrymen in these *Sugar*
 Colonies wou'd be look'd into, especially
 as the *Slave-Trade* began then to be better
 understood in *England* than it had been

formerly; and indeed the Parliament took it several Times into Consideration (as I believe * the Representation of the *Board of Trade*, relating to the Strength and Trade of the *British Islands in America*; hath made it once more fall in their Way this very Year, 1735) that is to say, how it might be carried on most to the national Advantage, whether by an exclusive Company with a Joint-Stock, or otherwise; but as to the Justice or Legality of the Trade itself, nothing has been hitherto done or said, or not that I have heard of. Nay † one of these *Republicans* (and

* Dated at *Whitehall*, January 14. 1734·5, and on the 18th of February, ordered by the *House of Lords* to be printed.

† See the 2^d Discourse of Mr *Andrew Fletcher*, of *Salton*, on the Affairs of *Scotland*, *Edinburgh*, printed 1698, and *London*, re-printed 1732, pag. 134. In which, among other Things remarkable enough, he blames the Clergy for the Share they had in the *Abolition of Slavery*, when *Christianity* was first publickly established under *Constantine the Great*. And yet he is not so singular in his Notions as some imagined, when that Discourse was first publish'd; for the Baron *Puffendorf* (from whom I guess Mr *Fletcher* had his Notion) says, that " Some have thought, and not altogether without Reason, that the *Prohibition of Slavery* amongst *Christians*, hath chiefly occasion'd that Flood of thieving Vagrants, and sturdy Beggars, which is usually complain'd of." *De Leg. Nat. & Gent. lib. VI. cap. iii. Sect. 10.* of Dr *Kennet's* Translation. And as to Captives in War, *Scipio Gentilis* (in Ep. ad *Philem.* Sect. 43) says,

(and he no small Man of the Party) gives it as his Opinion, and has writ a Treatise to prove it, *that Slaves are necessary in a well regulated Government.* But to do his Party Justice, I have not heard that any other of them (unless I should except * One) ever avow'd such Doctrine. So far from it, another of good Credit, whom I take to lean that Way, assures us †, *that whatever Notions prevail among Christians that encourage Slavery, or that are not strictly agreeable to Liberty, are not Christian Notions, but the Mistakes of Christians.* And I think it hath been argued before the Lord Chief Justice of England, without Offence, that ‡ *it is against the Law of Nature for one Man to be a Slave to another, and that Christianity and Slavery are inconsistent;* with more to the same Purpose.

You will ask then, If all, both *Royalists* and *Republicans*, are Enemies to *Slavery*, how comes England to protect and en-

says, *Nec inutile Reipub. fortean esset, si plena & justa servitus hodie revocaretur in bellis quæ Christiani populi inter gerunt: non tam multi ex gregariis, præsertim tenuioribus, militibus capti necarentur, desperato redemptio nis pretio, & abolito veteri in mancipia jure.*

* The Author of the *Fable of the Bees.*

† *Present State of the Republic of Letters, for September, 1729, Vol. IV. pag. 186.*

‡ *Modern Reports, Part V. pag. 182 to 191. In the Savoy, printed 1711.*

courage the Slave-Trade? I will explain that by and by; but first I must observe, that there are several other Nations of Europe, and some of them the very chief that profess Christianity, who have, as Matters are order'd in their American Settlements, as preffing Occasion for such Slaves as England, or rather much more.

The Spaniards and Portugueze lead the Van, who being weak in white Hands, could never have work'd their Gold and Silver Mines, and carried on their Business between the Tropics, without the Affiance of our Countrymen; of whom they are now said to possess twice as many as are in all the British Dominions. And since the Increase of their own People is known to be less than that of other European Nations; since he is accounted no bad Negro, or richly worth the Money he cost, who lives to work but three Years in their Mines; and since the Decrease of the Negro-Slaves, not only among the Spaniards and Portugueze, but in all other Countries in the West Indies, is otherwise known to be great, (so very great, that without fresh Supplies they would dwindle quite away *), and that sooner

* See *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, concerning the Conversion of the Negro-Slaves: London printed 1730, pag. 11. and pag. 95, 96, where some Account*

sooner than those who judge of things here by what the like are in their own Temperate Zone, can easily be brought to believe) there is just the same Reason, or the same Necessity, for their being annually supplied with several Thousands more from *Africa*, that there is for working their Mines, and maintaining the other Labours of their Colonies.

The *French*, well aware what a Step it must be to the Wealth, Power, and Grandeur they are aiming at, have for many Years employ'd all their Politics and Prudence, to gain an Ascendant in the *Sugar-Trade*; neither Cost nor Pains have been spared to settle their Island of *Martinico* with *Slaves*, and every thing else, to the Height; and finding that some of their other *Sugar-Settlements* were like to wear out soon, or that the defending them at all Events would not quit Cost, they therefore dissettled some, and neglected others of them, in order to carry, as *Matters ripen*, the whole Strength of all their other *Sugar Colonies* to *Hispaniola*; an Island of above twelve hundred Miles in Compass, which if half planted as *Martinico* is, would (to say nothing of it's natural Wealth) produce more *Sugar*, *Indigo*, *Cocoa*, and other valuable *West India*

Account is given of the great *Decrease* of both *Blacks* and *Whites*, in these scorching Parts.

Com-

Commodities, than all *Europe*, or perhaps the whole World, could consume.

Their unweildy Colony of *Mississipi* on the *North* Continent is peopled, in the main, by Natives of *Old France*, and is chiefly meant to subserve *in Time* to their *Sugar* Settlements in the *West-Indies*, by supplying them with such Necessaries for the *Sugar* Manufacture as they have hitherto been obliged to get, at a great Expence, from *Ireland*, and the *British Northern Colonies*. 'Tis needless to prove to you, that * the *French* are seeking to center their *Sugar Trade* in *Hispaniola*; but as our *enslav'd* Countrymen are already (as I apprehend) much more numerous in their *Sugar Islands* than in the *Sugar Islands* of *England*; and since their *Decrease* can nowhere be supplied but from *Guinea*: So when their Views in *Hispaniola* shall succeed (and what shou'd hinder them from succeeding?) they will then have Employment more than enough for six Times the Number of *Negro-Slaves* they are at this Day any where possessed of †.

The

* See *An Enquiry into the Methods of retrieving the Sugar Trade of England*; *London*, printed 1733.

† To promote the Importation of *Negroes*, the King of *France* has given the *India Company of Paris* several great Encouragements; such as, An Exemption from all the Duties for Merchandise exported to *Africa*,

The *Dutch*, whose inspiring Example Moses Bon Sàam says you wou'd do well to keep in your Eye, did indeed shake off the Yoke of the King of *Spain*, and set up for themselves. But whatever Virtue was in that, I assure you they have at this Time a great many Thousands of our Countrymen in never-ending Bondage in their Colonies of *Surinam*, *Barbecies*, and the Parts adjacent; and I can assure you too, that were any of our Countrymen there to pretend to set up for themselves, or to make the least Attempt to shake off the Yoke, the *Dutch* wou'd impale them alive, or take out their Bowels, and cast them in the Fire before their Eyes; nay, I know not but our Countryman *Moses* wou'd find the same Fate, notwithstanding his being free, was he to make such a *Speech* at *Surinam* as he has done here. They have also some Thousands of us at *S. Eustace*, and many more in their Island

Africa, and to the *French Islands* and Colonies in *America*; An Exemption from half the Customs on all *Sugars*, and other Merchandize, imported from the *French Islands* and Colonies in *America*, being the Produce of the Sale of *Negroes* there; An Exemption from all Tolls of any kind upon their Goods and Merchandize in *France*; and a Bounty of Thirteen Livres, to be paid out of his own Revenue, for every *Negro* carried to the *French Islands* and Colonies in *America*. See *The Case of the Royal African Company*, p. 23. *London*, printed 1730.

of

of *Curasoa*, where our Slavery has been long wanted, not so much for the Sugar Manufacture, which is inconsiderable there, as to serve their other Occasions. *Curasoa* is of so little intrinsick Value, that no Nation but the *Dutch* wou'd settle it, nor they neither, but for its Situation near the *Spanish Main*; for being well supplied with *Provisions* from *Ireland*, and with *Lumber* and *Provisions* from the *British Northern Colonies*, they have long been enabled thereby (which otherwise wou'd have been impossible) to live tolerably even on that barren Spot, and from thence to carry on a Trade * incredibly beneficial to *Holland*, not only with the *French* and *English Sugar Islands*, but especially (which is the true reason of their living there) all along the *Spanish Coast*, where they sell their Goods from *Europe*, and great Numbers of our Countrymen, whom they import to *Curasoa* from *Guinea*; for which the *Spaniards* pay them in *Cocoa*, *Tallow*, *Hides*, *Vareina-Tobacco*, *Mules*, *Drugs*, *Spices*, *dying Woods*, and some *Gold* and *Pieces of Eight*. 'Tis true, the *English Assentists*,

* See Monsieur *Huet's View of the Dutch Trade*, 2d Edit. in *English*, *London*, printed 1722, at p. 89, 90, where he describes this Trade from *Curasoa* to *Cartagena*, &c. and again, p. 96. and p. 194, 195. See also *Burrish's Batavia illustrata*, p. 335.

and

and the Vigilance of the *Spanish* Governors, have given some Interruption to this clandestine Trade; but so considerable was it, till very lately, that the *Dutch West-India* Company had seldom fewer Ships at *Curaçoa* to carry it on, than Ten or Twelve, or from 16 to 40 Guns, and from 50 to 120 Hands, or more, Six of which, beside a great many Sloops, were constantly employ'd in it——This Traf-fick brings a no small Concourse of *white* People to that Island; and these must be served, and have (what we call) *Country Provisions* raised for them on the Island, and their other Drudgery done, by the *Negro-Slaves*. Now the *Decrease* of *Slaves* there, and at *Surinam*, &c. being rather more in proportion than in the *French* and *English* Sugar Islands, the same must be made good from *Guinea*, and if their Trade on the *Spanish* Coast, in Goods from *Europe*, and *Slaves* from *Africa*, shall return and flourish (as it must when the present *Affiento* ceases, if not sooner) then a greater Number of our Country-men will of Course be wanted to support it. It is also to be noted, that the *Dutch* having got Intelligence, while they were contending with their then Lord, the King of *Spain*, that the *Blacks* of *Africa* did sell one another for *Slaves*, away they posted to the Market, supplanted or beat

the first Occupiers (the *Portuguese*) out of all their Forts and Settlements on the *Gold Coast*, and not only supplied *Brazil* from thence, but all other Nations in *America* that wou'd pay (what the Market calls) *a valuable Consideration* for them. This came in process of Time to a great Height, and some think the *Dutch* might have carried it higher, and made the *Slave-Trade* as much their Property as they have done the *Spice*; but *the trafficking in Men and Women* bearing no good Face with the disinterested Part of the World, the *Dutch* were willing to have others to keep them in Countenance. 'Tis certain, however, that * they take good care still of the *Slave-Trade*; and the *French* and *English* founly belie them, if they have not injur'd both in it, by stirring up our Countrymen to attack and ravage their Fortifications on the Coast, and by other Methods neither agreeable to (what is call'd) *the Law of Nations*, nor to their own Treaties with these Powers. And I have heard some of them accused of unfair Practices in their Dealings with those of our Countries from whom they buy the *Slaves*; I mean, unfair according to the Rules observ'd in that Trade: Tho' at the same

* See *The Case of the Royal African Company of England*, p. 22; where some of the Particulars are set down.

Time it is but fair to tell you, that they are not singular in this.

Lastly, The *Danes* have a loud Call for our Countrymen to *slave it* for them in the Island of *St Thomas*, near to which they possess another Island, call'd *St John's*, where there was an untoward Accident about Twenty Months ago ; for the *Negro-Slaves* there, as every where else between the Tropicks, being vastly superior in Number to the *Whites*, laid hold of a favourable Opportunity, and in one Day butcher'd them all, except a Handful that escap'd to the Woods. The *Whites* of *St Thomas* not being able to send a sufficient Force to reduce the *Negroes* of *St John's*, 'twas thought their next Neighbours wou'd have undertaken it ; but, for Reasons needless to be told you, nothing was done, or not to the Purpose; nor, as I have heard, were the *Danes*, bad as their Case then was, desirous of Relief from them ; but the *French*, the Heroes of all of their Colour in distress, as soon as they knew it, fell down like lightning from *Martinico* with a powerful Force ; and having conquer'd the *Negroes* of *St John's*, some of those whom they judged the least guilty, or not guilty at all, they took to themselves to defray the Charges of the Expedition, some of them they restor'd to their former Lords the *Danes*, and the rest were

either put to the Torture, or hang'd, or hewn in Pieces. This Island of *St Thomas* is one of the *Virgins*, and holds a considerable Trade with most of the *European* Nations here; and therefore the *Danes* will keep it as long as they can, tho' were the Claim to be discuss'd, it wou'd perhaps be found to be the Property of another Nation. In the last Two Wars between *England* and *France*, it gain'd immense Wealth by being the only Neutral Port in these Parts, and will do the same again whenever a like Occasion offers. The *French* have also allow'd the *Danes* to settle *Santa Cruz*, an Island of good Note which they formerly dissettled, their King having sent, at his own Charge, the then Inhabitants, *White* and *Black*, to *Hispaniola*. The *French* Design in this is not so much to serve the *Danes* as to disserve the *English*; for *Barbadoes* having been long on the Decline, i.e. the Expences of cultivating it being but little short of the Profits arising from it, and most of the *Leward Islands* being not far from the same Condition, 'twas believ'd, that the middling and lower sort of the *white* Inhabitants wou'd have remov'd from thence with their *Slaves* to *Santa Cruz*; which having lain long fallow, the Soil there is with reason suppos'd to be easier of Cultivation, and more productive, than in those ancient *British*

Set.

Settlements: And this Effect it wou'd undoubtedly have had, if the *Danes* had known how to manage Matters, or wou'd have been guided by their more skillful Friends the *French*; and this it will undoubtedly have the Moment the *Danes* shall take the proper Measures *, unless *England* shall think fit to prevent it, by making it worth while, and giving effectual Encouragement to the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands* to remove to *Jamaica*, where Land more than enough of the better sort may be found to employ thrice the Number of *Whites* and *Blacks* in the *Sugar Manufacture*, &c. that are now in all the *British Sugar Colonies*, *St Thomas's* is the sickliest Spot in all the *West-Indies*, which makes the *Decrease* in *Slaves* there, greater in proportion than any where else; so that if the *Danes* proceed in settling *Santa Crutz* (where as yet there are only about 300 *Whites*) they will have a Demand on our Countries for an annual Supply of several Thousands of *Slaves*, as long as their Settlements on *St Thomas*, *Santa Cruz*, and other Places, shall subsist.

* See *The Supplement to the Detection of the State and Situation of the present Sugar Planters of Barbadoes, &c.* pag. 64, &c. where a Scheme is propos'd relating to the Removal Mr Talbot Campo-Bell here speaks of.

'Tis well our People in *Africa* are so prolifick, and have so little Busines of their own to do ; for you see what a Vent there is, and what greater is like to be, for us in all the *European Colonies* in *America*. You have already had some Account of *England* ; but before I resolve the Question [*Why England protects and encourages the Slave-Trade*] it may not be amiss to say something too of those other Nations of *Europe* that are likewise embark'd in it, I will therefore now speak of them all together. You must know then, that the far better part of *Europe* itself is divided into two grand Parties or Communions, *viz.* *Roman-Catholicks* and *Protestants* ; among the former are the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese* ; among the latter the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*. And these two Parties are almost always squabbling about one Thing or other, often about Religion, and oftner about Nobody knows what, and sometimes those of the same Communion, not unlike our Savages in *Africa*, will fall out among themselves, and play the Devil with one another. But how madly or idly soever they differ otherwise, in one Thing they are most harmonious, and fall into a perfect Coalition, and that is, in making *Slaves* of our Countrymen : Insomuch that when *England* and *France*, or *France* and *Holland*, or *Spain* and *Portugal*, or *France*

France and *Spain*, or *England* and *Holland*, or any two or more of them, go together by the Ears, whichsoever Side gets the better in any Part of the *West-Indies*, the Conqueror (be he *Protestant*, be he *Papist*, or of the same Communion with the conquer'd, 'tis all one) instantly seizes all his Adversaries *Negroe-Slaves* that he can find, just as he does the Gold and Silver, and either carries them to *slave it anew* in a Colony of his own, or sells them to the highest Bidders in open Market. Thus *England* long ago serv'd the *Slaves* among the *Dutch* at *Tobago* and *S. Eustace*; thus she serv'd those among the *French* at *Guadaloupe*, *Hispaniola*, *S. Christopher's*, and elsewhere, in the Two last Wars with *France*; thus the *Dutch* have often serv'd the *Slaves* among the *Portuguese*, and others; and the *French*, oftner by far than any, have thus serv'd the *Negro-Slaves* among the *English*, *Dutch* and *Spaniards*. Nay, so disastrous is our Fate among these *Europeans*, that if a free *Christian Negro* goes out in War-time in a Sloop from (e. g.) *Jamaica*, and the Sloop happens to be taken by a *Frenchman* or *Spaniard*, 'tis much if the very Colour of his Skin does not damn him again to *Slavery*; at the best, he must remain a *Slave*, until he can produce authentic Documents of his Freedom; and if it is so hard, even in the time

time of Peace, for *England* to obtain Redress at *Madrid*, or for *Spain* to obtain Redress at the *Hague*, when the *Spaniards* commit Depredations on the *English*, or the *Dutch* on the *Spaniards* in these Parts, one may guess what a Task a poor forlorn *Negro* must have, in time of War, to make out his Freedom to the Conviction of a *West-India Governor*, who perhaps takes a Liking to the *Negro*, and will prefer him (forsooth !) to be his own *Slave*. And it is the same when a *French* or *Spanish* free *Negro* happens to be taken by the *Dutch*, *English*, or any other that is at War with the Nation to which the *Negro* belongs.

Not but that this *Slave-Trade* begets some Qualms of Conscience in those of the *Romish* Communion, when they consider the Original, the Occasion, the vast Extent, and uncouth Circumstances of it. To remove these, *Reveal'd Religion* is call'd in ; and if aught of that can make an Atonement, or ease the Conscience, the Kings of *Spain*, *France*, and *Portugal* have, long enough since, sent *Missionaries* in plenty to propagate the Faith among the *Negro-Slaves* in their *West-India Colonies*; and it must be confess'd, that (allowing for some heterogeneous Superstructures, which, however, themselves look on as genuine and essential) these *Missionaries* have honestly enough laid the Foundations of *Christianity*

nity in some of them ; but their Numbers being very great, and the Difficulties of instructing them greater, it must be granted too, that not One in Forty of their *Slaves* is, or perhaps can be, taught it to purpose. However, they baptize all that come young from *Guinea*, and all that are born in their Colonies, and marry them when of Age according to the Rules of their Church ; and none that are so married can dissolve the Marriage at Pleasure, tho' the Men are suffered to keep what Concubines they please. Most of the *Slaves* in this Communion cross themselves, at the usual Times, as adroitly as any of the *Whites*, and go to Mass on Holy Days, which (as these Days are pretty numerous in *Papal* Places) conduces more than one would think to sweeten their *Slavery*. After all, 'tis certain, that most of the better sort of their *Slaves* can hardly do more than say the *Pater-noster*, *Ave-maria*, and *Credo*, and many not so much. And to say truth, not a few of them (as it is every where with our *devoted* Countrymen) are so stupid, or so perverse, that 'tis impossible, humanly speaking, to teach them any thing that is good ; and, upon the Whole, I rather wonder that these *Roman-Catholicks* have taught them so much, than that they have not taught them more.

The *Protestants*, no doubt, have their Scruples concerning it too ; * but what Methods they take to quiet them, I know not. The *Dutch* (I mean in their *Sugar Colonies*) express no Concern about it, or none that I can learn ; the *Danes* shew very little ; and the *English* not much more than the *Danes*. In the *British Colonies* on the Continent, where the *Negro-Slaves* are nothing near so numerous as here, and much easier kept in Subjection, something of moment may have been done for their Conversion to the *Christian Faith* ; but, whatever some have given out in *England*, there never was any one Man sent from thence to the *Sugar Colonies* (unless what the *Society for propagating the Gospel* may have sent to their own Plantations in *Barbadoes*) on purpose to teach the *Slaves* the *Christian Faith* and Worship ; and he must have been shamefully misinform'd, who thinks, that their Conversion is a Thing to be done by the by. There are indeed

* See a Tract, intituled, *A Collection of Papers relating to the East-India Trade*; *London*, printed for *J. Walthoe*, 1730. In which the Author, speaking of the Trade to *Africa* (pag. 72.) says, that on new-modelling it in 1672, some scrupulous Persons took the Opinion of the ablest *English Divines*, *Whether it were lawful or not to sell and buy Mankind* ; but he is far from giving a satisfactory Account, what the Determination of those Divines was, or how supported.

about

about Forty Parochial Ministers in *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*, whom some chuse to call *Missionaries*, tho' they are no more such than other Clergy-men are who go from *London* to preach the Gospel at *Londonderry*, *Cork*, or *Dublin*, in *Ireland*; and, if themselves may be credited, they have Work more than enough on their Hands with the *Whites* of their own Nation. Not but that there are some *Negro-Slaves* in the *British Sugar Colonies*, who have been baptiz'd and instructed in *Christianity*; I have convers'd with above One Hundred such myself, and seen near as many of them baptiz'd; but then, as this is nothing to the Main, so the little that is done, is owing either to the Labours of the few Clergy that are here, or to the Piety of the Masters and Mistresses of the *Slaves*, or rather to both, and not at all to any Provision that *England* has made for it.

One Thing more may be worth observing before I answer your Question, and that is, that there is something in *England*, if consider'd as she loves to stand compar'd to other Nations in *Europe*, whether *Popish* or *Protestant* (* unless *Holland*

* *England* and *Holland* are now, almost the only *Affertors of Liberty*. *Davenant's Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, Part II. p. 148.

shou'd be excepted) that may make her being concern'd in this *Slave-Trade* more taken Notice of than their being concern'd in it. You must have heard that the *Spirit of Liberty* (as it is call'd) runs high in *England*: Among the Populace, *Liberty* is the Cry Morning, Noon, and Night; and nothing is more common, even among some of high Rank there, than to brand the Subjects of *Spain*, *France*, *Denmark*, and other Countries with the opprobrious Name of *Slaves*. Nay, a good Writer of theirs says, * *We in England shou'd, with the last Drop of Blood, defend this almost only Spot of Ground [England] which seems remaining in the World to Publick Liberty.* And another, little inferior to him in Fame, will not so much as except even *Holland*, but says of his own Country, † “ Besides our other Felicities we “ have one Thing more to boast of, and “ that is, of being *Freemen* and not *Slaves*, “ in this unhappy Age, when an universal “ Deluge of Tyranny has overspread the “ Face of the whole Earth; so that this “ [*England*] is the Ark out of which if “ the Dove [*Liberty*] be sent forth, she

* *Davenant's Essay on Ways and Means*, p. 4.

† Mr *Walter Moyle*, in his *Argument against a Standing Army*, printed in the Year 1697, near the beginning.

" will find no Resting-Place till her Re-
 " turn." Every Nation, 'tis true, has a
 dark Side as well as a bright, and this high
 Opinion of Themselves, and base Opinion
 of Others, is the Foible of the *English*; and a costly Foible it has been, as having
 too often made them the Dupes of knavish
 Craftsmen. But however, since they are
 certainly one of the freest People in the
 World, since *Liberty* is so much their
Darling, and *Slavery* so much their *Dread*,
 your Question (if one may say so of a
 Question which puts a Man in Pain when
 when he goes to answer it) is doubtless per-
 tinent and just, What makes Men of such
 a Complexion join with Countries whom
 they call *Slavish* and *Tyrannical*, in making
 our Countrymen Slaves? or, admitting
 them to have done it at first incautiously,
 What has hinder'd them, for above Se-
 venty Years together, from contriving a
 Retreat, or so much as once offering at
 some Project or Expedient of a Cure? To
 fall into Error is consistent enough with
 Humanity, but to persist in it after Con-
 viction, or to shun the Means of Con-
 viction, is not so. Possibly you may be
 tempted to think, that they mean none
 but *Themselves*, and the other *Whites*, shou'd
 be free, and that of *all our Colour* are born to
 be *Slaves*. I assure you, they have no
 such meaning—But, by what hath been
 said

said of the other Nations of *Europe* that possess *Negro-Slaves*, you see all of them are deep, and some of them deeper in this Trade than *England*: Now, shou'd *England*, or any of those other Nations boggle at it, or fancy something iniquitous or wicked in it, and thereupon let drop their Share in this *Slave-Trade*, their Share of the Profits arising from it wou'd presently be lost *, and (which must wound deeper) some other Nation or Nations of Consciences not so strait-lac'd wou'd presently gain the Whole, which wou'd destroy that general Balance of Trade (and, by Consequence, of Power) which wise Men think ought to be maintain'd in the World. If this be the Truth and the whole Truth, it is idle in our Countryman *Moses Bon Sàam* to ask [the *white* People in the *West-Indies*, or (which might have made the Question less impertinent) the People of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*] *What wild imaginary Superiority of Dignity has the pale, sickly Whiteness of these Insulters of our Colour to boast of, when compar'd with our Majestick Glossiness?* This, and all the rest of his Rhetoric to the same

* Whatever Business *England* quits, *other Nations* will take up, and from our *Spoils* not only be *Richer*, but much *Stronger*. *Davenant* on the *Publick Revenues*, Part II. p. 66.

Purpose,

Purpose, will go for nothing with the *Dealers* in *Slaves*; but cou'd *Mosés Bon Sàam*, or any other, instruct them how to get a Penny more by quitting the *Slave-Trade* than they do by continuing it, I dare answer for the *English*, every Man, Woman, and Child of us, might be set at Liberty to-morrow; nay I doubt not but *England*, which sent Ships and Men to buy you, or your Fathers in *Guinea*, that you might labour in her *Sugar Manufacture* here, wou'd with equal Ardour, and a much better Heart, send Ships and Men to carry you from hence, and set you down where you were taken up. A Happiness, which none of you needs to covet! For if our Countrymen who rule there (as all of you, that were of Age at your coming from *Guinea*, know very well) cou'd find none to sell you to again, instant Death would be your Portion!—But I see you have got somewhat to eat; I will stop a while, and take a Bit with you—



P A R T. II.

A V I N G explain'd some Things which you seem to have been in the dark about, and which, however, ought to be well consider'd before you determine what is to be done at present ; I am next to put you in Mind, that when *England* took this Island from *Spain*, near upon Eighty Years ago, the few *Spanish Negro-Slaves* that their Masters cou'd not carry off with them, and that would not come in to the Conqueror, betook themselves to these Mountains, where they continu'd for many Years little observ'd or regarded. But the *English* who sat down here, being quickly furnish'd by their Countrymen in *England* with incredible Numbers of our Countrymen from *Guinea*,

to

to work in the Sugar Manufacture ; as soon as the *Negro-Slaves* then imported understood that some of their Colour and Country had taken Refuge in the Mountains, and lay pretty safe from the Power of the *Whites*, not a few of them (as has been the Practice ever since) came, either out of Affection, or Curiosity, to spend a Day or Two with their Countrymen here ; and as often as any such came up hither, you know they were not suffer'd to go down again. Besides these, all of them that had been forced from their Native Country by the Frauds and Villanies of their own Countrymen there, or that had been spirited from thence by the *white Christian Traders* on the Coast ; all that were, or that thought themselves cruelly used, by their Masters below ; all that had been guilty of Murders, Rapes, Poisoning, Robberies, Burglaries, or any other Crimes for which the Laws have decreed Corporal Punishment, or Death ; all that had absented from, or neglected, their Work, and feared to be corrected for it ; all that had lived at Ease in their own Countries, and were either harden'd in Idleness, or too proud and stubborn to stoop to Labour ; all these, I say, have been flocking hither, for the last Sixty or Seventy Years ; and not content to come themselves, have constantly withdrawn as many of the stupid or more

ignorant *Slaves* as they cou'd prevail on to bear them Company. I perceive you may be reckon'd into Two Classes chiefly ; first the Descendants of the *Spanish Negroes*, and of those who came or fled hither first from below ; and next, the *Salt-Water Negroes*, i. e. such as have been lately imported from *Guinea* ; but in all my Visits here, I have seen very few *Creole Negroes*, i. e. such as were born among the *Whites* in this Colony ; but few as they are, they are Monsters in Wickedness, Devils incarnate, Murderers, Ravishers, Robbers, such as have willfully set Fire to Hous-es, or to the growing *Sugar Canes* ; and these being cunninger than you, and well acquainted in every Creek and Corner of the Island, lead you forth in all your Sallies on the *Whites*, and have assur'd the ruling and ordering of you in all other Matters. I need not say what worse than brutal Rulers they are, how they lie with your Wives, and ravish your Daughters before your Eyes, and how in their Wrath, or their Rum, they will plunge their Knives in your Bosoms or Bellies. Nor shou'd I have mention'd them at all, if you had not assur'd me that they are all gone with some of your own People to lay out a new Settlement on a distant Mountain ; for it wou'd not have been in your Power to hinder them from cutting me to Pieces. You see then, my Countrymen,

Countrymen, what a woful Situation you are now in : I am well acquainted with the Gentleman who governs this Island, and with most of the *white* Inhabitants of Note, and can assure you from them, that you will all be forgiven on your Submission, and treated in much the same Manner as the *Negroes* are who have continu'd in their Obedience. To be return'd to *Africa* you will not desire, for the Reason I just now gave ; and if the good People of *England* shou'd dislike your being replac'd in a State of Servitude here, I can only say, that then the Safety of this Island will not suffer you to remain upon it ; and then I shall humbly propose, that you may be all sent forthwith, or as soon as Transports can be provided, to *England*. Hands, well employ'd, are said to be the Riches of a Place ; and sure you may be trained up as easily to the Plough, feeding of Cattle, carding and spinning of Wool, beating of Hemp, or the like, as the *Negroe-Slaves* here are to the *Sugar Manufacture* ; and as I know you would gladly work the first seven or fourteen Years for bare Food and Raiment, your Labour wou'd, without doubt, over-balance both that, and the Charges of transporting you thither. But to be plain, the *English* Laws, here and every where else, are such, that Ravishers, willful Murderers, &c. are un-

capable of being pardon'd ; and I hope you do not think they deserve to live : 'Twill be in vain therefore to speak to the Governor in their behalf : They are but a Handful in respect of you ; seize the Monsters, and deliver them up to Justice, which will make your own Submission the more readily accepted. This I have said in the Absence of these consummate Villains ; but were they now present I would desire to speak to them and you both, as follows.

Countrymen : You are now enrag'd at the *white* People of this Island, whom *Moses Bon Sàam* calls *your Enemies, your Oppressors, ungrateful and merciless Masters, insolent Enslavers, imperious Torturers, Insulters of our Colour, and proud Spoilers of the Work of God, who dare make Beasts of Human Forms.* How true this is, none can better judge than yourselves. That some *Whites* in these *Sugar Colonies* have treated some of our Colour basely and barbarously, is as certain, as that some *Mothers* in *England* destroy their Babes, or that some *Children* there starve or murder their *Parents*, or that some *Englishmen* once murder'd their *King*, or that *Woolfton* (a Clergyman !) turn'd Infidel, or that too many of their 'Squires, and Others, turn Profligates, and ruin their Estates. But *sure*

sure * the Laws of the *British Sugar Colonies* are express against such Cruelty, as express as in any of the other *European Colonies* in the *West-Indies*; and if *England*, which makes Laws *at Will* for her Colonies in other Matters, does not think them express and severe enough, they may be made what she pleases. As to Facts, I have not known or heard in the last thirty Years, that any of these *Whites* have willfully or wantonly taken away the Life of any one *Slave*, or that (notwithstanding the many Thousands that are here, and their frequent Offences) above three or four single *Slaves* have in all that Time

* See, *An Abridgment of the Laws of the Plantations, London* printed for *J. Nicholson, &c.* 1704. At p. 147, If any *Slave* by Punishment from his Owner for running away, or other Offence, suffer in Life or Limb, none shall be liable to the Law for the same; but whoever shall kill a *Slave* out of Willfulness, Wantonness, or Bloodymindednes, shall suffer three Months Imprisonment, and pay Fifty Pound to the Owner of the *Slave*. If the Party so offending be a Servant, he or she, shall have on the bare Back thirty nine Lashes, and also (after the Expiration of the Term with his or her Master, or Mistres) shall serve the Owner of the deceas'd *Slave* the full Term of four Years. And p. 243. If a Master shall of Wantonnes, or Cruelty, willfully kill his own *Slave*, he shall pay to the Publick Treasury 15 l. Sterling; if he kill another Man's, he shall pay double the Value to the Owner, and 25 l. Sterling to the Publick Treasury, and be bound to good behaviour during the Governor's Pleasure.

died under Correction, or soon after it. Most of the Instances handed about in *England*, will be found, upon Examination, to be false, or unfairly represented, or misunderstood ; and the Gentlemen there who talk so much, and with such Positiveness, of the Cruelty of the Masters to their *Slaves* here, ought certainly to have descended to Particulars, and nam'd their Vouchers, which since none of them are so candid as to do, the impartial Part of Mankind will judge accordingly. The Truth is, these Masters in general run into the other Extreme, and are rather criminally merciful : If one steals a Cow, a Sheep, or a Hog in *England*, or breaks into a House, or robs on the Highway, he will be hang'd for it ; but when a *Slave* commits any the like Offence here, as he can in no Case be condemn'd without due Proof before two Justices of the Peace, and three sufficient Freeholders of the Neighbourhood (* which is the Rule in trying

* On complaint of any heinous and grievous Crime committed by any *Slaves*, as [Murders, Rapes] Burglary, Robbery, burning of Houses [or Canes] killing or stealing of Cattel, &c. the Justices shall issue out their Warrants, and upon probable Proof, the Offender shall be committed or bailed as the Case shall require. And two Justices shall issue their Summons to three sufficient Freeholders, appointing a Day and Place, when and where the said Justices, and

trying *Slaves* in these *Sugar Colonies*) so the common Way is to compound the Matter with the Party injur'd, and to let the *Slave* escape with a Whipping; and he wou'd be look'd on as an unsufferable Neighbour here, who shou'd have Recourse to a Magistrate in any Case where Compensation is ready to be made to him. A *Negroe-Slave* about twenty Years old, and born in my own House (the Cloaths on whose Back are seldom worth less than 30*s.* who can say the whole Church Catechism, and other Things that way, and who has been so taught in House-Service as to be richly worth 60*l.* Sterling) being sent by her Mistress, last Week, to ask after the Health of a *white* Woman in the Neighbourhood who lies bed-rid, and almost blind; this wicked *Slave*, finding no Body in the House with the poor Woman, robb'd her of 18*s.* which was all the Money she had: The News coming soon to my Ears, I sent my Wife with 28*s.* to the poor old Woman, promis'd to correct the *Slave* severely (as indeed I did)

and the three Freeholders, shall hear the Matter, and if upon Evidence the Party appears guilty, they shall give Sentence of Death, or such other Punishment as the Crime by Law deserves, and by their Warrant cause immediate Execution to be done. — If any Crime that deserves Death be committed by more than one *Negroe*, one of the Criminals only shall suffer Death, as exemplary. See Ibid. p. 146.

and

and so the Thing was hush'd. And about a Fortnight ago, three Field-Slaves of one of my Neighbours breaking into my House by Night, took from thence two Pieces of Bag Holland, three Pieces of stamp'd Linnen, and some Shoes and Stockings; some whereof were found on them next Day; but my Neighbour offering to make full Satisfaction, I ask'd nothing more but that the Thieves shou'd be soundly whipp'd, which was done to such Purpose, that if *Moses Bon Sàam* had been present, their *Shrieks* and *Howls*, which were loud and lamentable enough, cou'd not but have touch'd him to the Quick. This Conduct must appear odd to Strangers, but the Reason of it is substantial; for were the Rigour of the Law to take Place, a Plantation of 100 *Slaves* wou'd in a few Years be reduced to 50, and that 50 in a few more to 25, and then farewell the *British Sugar* Manufacture. You know that when you lived with your Masters you were duly provided with * *Apparel* suitable to this warm Climate, and † with *Food* fit to support you

* All *Slaves* shall have Cloaths once every Year, viz. Drawers and Caps for Men, and Petticoats and Caps for Women, upon Pain of forfeiting 5 s. for every *Slave* not so cloathed, ib. 240.

† All Owners of Plantations shall have at all Times one Acre of Ground well planted with Provisions

you in their Service ; or if any of them did not so provide for you, they were (as in other Cases) Exceptions from the General Rule, and became obnoxious to the Law. Is it not undeniably their Interest to use their *Slaves* well ? *Can the † Sugar Colonies* (as Things are order'd) *possibly subsist without Slaves*, or *Slaves* without necessary Food and Raiment ? Hath not *England* render'd them the prime Materials for carrying on her *Sugar Manufacture*, and as necessary to the Planter here, as Horses or Oxen are to the Husbandman there ? And as none but a Brute, or Booby of a Husbandman, will use those dumb Creatures ill, or with-hold fit and necessary Provender from them, he wou'd be the same, or worse Brute or Booby of a Planter, who should starve his *Slaves*, or use them otherwise than well *. Not that a *Slave*

is

Provisions for every five *Negroes*, and so proportionably, under the Penalty of 40*s.* for every Acre wanting, *ibid. p. 147.* See also, *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, concerning the Conversion of the Negro-Slaves*, p. 49, &c. where the Particulars of the *Food* and *Cloathing* of the *Negroes* in the *British Sugar Colonies* are describ'd and accounted for.

† See the *Representation of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords*, dated *January 14, 1734-5*, pag. 16.

* *Jam tribus propositis, opere, castigatione, & cibo ; si cibus suppetat fine opere & castigatione, ita petulantia innascitur. Inter opera vero & castigatio-*

is to live in superfluity ; for that wou'd destroy the Design on which the Master purchas'd him, and for the carrying on whereof he continually provides him with Cloathing and Food convenient for him. They who know not what *Perfect Slavery* is,

nem cibum non habere & injustum atque violentum est, & elidit frangitque vires. Relinquitur ergo hoc, ut opera facere illi cogantur, & satis eis suppeditetur cibi. Nam non potest aliquis Dominus esse eorum quibus merces nulla persolvatur. Servi autem merces cibus est. *Aristot. de Oeconom.* l. 1. c. 5.

Castigandi semper jure sunt servi, neque ita monendi ut liberi homines, ne dissoluti reddantur. Allocutio omnis ad servos quodammodo imperium sit, neque jocus ullus cum ipsis, seu foeminis sive masculis habeatur. Quod multi stulte facientes, dum delicatius eos nutriunt, difficiliorem vitam & fibi ad imperandum, & illis ad obediendum reddunt. *Plato lib. 6. de Legibus.*

Fodder, a Wand, and Burthens, are for the Afs : and Bread, (cibus necessarius) Correction, and Work, for a Servant. Siracid. c. 33. v. 24.

Slaves were wholly in the Power of their Masters, who had Power——over their Bodies for Labour, without giving them any Wages or Reward : To do all that they are commanded is but the due Debt to their Masters, which if they perform they are not praised, but punish'd if they do it not. Dr *Hammond's* Annot. on 1 Cor. ix. 19.

And Archbishop *Tillotson*, in his Sermon on St John viii. 36. (near the Beginning) interprets the Proverbial Expression in the preceeding Verse, *The Servant abideth not in the House for ever*: thus ; that is (faith he) *A Servant hath no Right to any Thing, but is perfectly at the Disposal of his Master, being a Part of his Goods, which he may use as he pleaseth.*

And

is, must (if they will be talking about it) talk out of the Way, or at Random ; but you need not be told, how apt *Slaves* are to wax wanton on the least Encouragement above what is *strictly just* and *their due*, what a Propensity is in them to Laziness, Stealing, Lying, Drunkenness, and the like, which, with Murmuring, Stubbornness, Disaffection to and Designs upon the Master, arise (as I apprehend) from the very Nature of such *Slavery*. I will not say that there is indefinitely * a Divine Infliction in the Case, but I would ask

And Dr South (in his Sermon on St John xv. 15.) says, The Servant (or *Slave*) neither loves the Thing commanded, nor the Person who commands it, but is wholly and only intent upon his own Emolument. All Kindnesses done him, and all that is given him, over and above what is *strictly just*, and his *Due*, makes him rather worse than better. And this is an Observation that never fails, where any one has so much Bounty, and so little Wit, as to make the Experiment. For a Servant (or *Slave*) rarely or never ascribes what he receives to the mere Liberality and Generosity of the Donor, but to his own Worth and Merit, and to the Need which he supposes there is of him.

* Ἡμίσυ γάρ, τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποσίνηται ἐνρύποτα Ζεύς
Ἀνέρες, εὐτ' ἀν μηδέποτε δέλιον ἥμαρξ ἔλησιν.

Dimidium enim virtutis aufert latè sonans Jupiter
Viri, quando ipsum servilis dies occupat.

Hom. Odyss. lib. xvii. lin. 322.

ask any *white* Man in *England*, or any where in *Europe*, How, supposing himself, and some Thousands of his Countrymen, to be sold and bought in the Manner we, or our Forefathers, have been, and that he had no more Religion or Learning than we brought from *Africa*, and that he was sold here on the same Conditions the Merchants of *London*, *Leverpool*, or *Bristol*, or their Agents, have sold us; I would ask him how he thinks he wou'd behave in such a Situation? I shall not answer for him; But since he is suppos'd to be a Man of Sense and Sincerity, I presume he will agree, that if the Situation of such *Slaves* must be bad, the Situation of their Masters cannot be desirable, and that in Reason they wou'd chuse to carry on their Business with other Hands, if they knew where to get them. Add to this, that the Mother-Country (to mend the Matter) frequently discharges on her *Sugar Colonies* whole Ship-loads of her own Filth and Vermin, such as, *white* Pick-pockets, Whores, Rogues, Vagrants, Thieves, &c. whom she judges not bad enough for the Gallows, and yet too bad to live among

Omnis servitus, etiamsi justissima, animæ velut arcula quædam ac publicus carcer est. D. Longin. de Sublin. Seçt. 44.

Juræ naturæ Servitus est pœna peccati gravioris.
Grotius ad Gen. ix. v. 25.

their

their virtuous Countrymen in *England*. I grant this affects not you, *Slaves* find themselves to be *Slaves*, and that is all; how they came to be so, is none of their Enquiry: Somebody (they are sure) had a Hand in it; Somebody (they are persuaded) has injur'd them; Somebody, therefore, ought to feel their Revenge: And they have none to revenge it on but their immediate Possessors. At the same time, such of you as were sold from *Africa*, know, that your own Countrymen sold you, and by Consequence were the first Authors of your *Slavery*; but you have nothing to say to them, because they are out of your Reach. For the same Reason you say not one Word against those who bought you from your Countrymen, and sold you again here. And I guess you never heard till now that *England* promotes and protects this *Slave-Trade*, which otherwise cou'd not possibly be carried on. Perhaps you thought the *white* Inhabitants here sent their Ships to *Guinea* for you, or your Fathers: Alas! they have no Ships to send, no Commodities to purchase you with; or, if any Merchant in these Colonies is at all concern'd in this Trade, 'tis only as a Factor for those in *England*, or as he joins his small Stock with that of the rich Merchants there. But you are not out of Humour with the People of *England*, either

either because you did not know that they had any Hand in your *Slavery*, or because you cannot come at them. All your Anger therefore must be vented on these *white* People here ; and yet all the Concern they have in bringing about this *Slave-Trade*, is, that rather than give over the *Sugar-Manufacture*, which was their Calling, and deem'd a Lawful one, they accepted of *Negroe-Slaves* to carry it on with ; which they did sore against their Will, and not till *England* declin'd to furnish them with *white* Hands to labour in it. This they reckon a Misfortune, and a very heavy one ; insomuch that I have often heard many of the best and wisest of them wish heartily enough, that there was never a *Negro-Slave* more to be brought from *Africa* to *America* ; that all the *Slaves* in the *British Sugar Colonies* were in *Africa* again, or any where but where they are ; and that their Mother-Country would either send them Hands from herself to carry on the *Sugar Manufacture*, or put them in some other Way of Living that cou'd be carried on without *Negroe-Slaves* ; for you, or your Parents, were brought hither in so provoking and uncouth a Manner, and are so perverse and provoking yourselves, as to tire the Spirits, and break the Hearts of all that have to do with you.

Moses Bon Sàam says, *Let them [the white People here] recollect how soon the Profits, which they too well knew to make, from any one of our poor Fathers Toils, repaid them for his barbarous Purchase.* This shews him to be a Stranger both to the Slave-Trade, and to the State of Things here: To the first, in confining the *Barbarity* of the Purchase to the Planters, as if (supposing, for the present, a *Barbarity* in such Purchases) the Purchase made on the Coast of *Guinea* by the Merchants of *London*, *Leverpool*, and *Bristol*, or their Factors, was not at least equally *barbarous*: To the State of Things in these *Sugar Colonies**, where the Loss in *Slaves* (beside those immediately from *Africa*, of which about two Fifths die in the *Seasoning*) may well, one Year with another, be reckon'd at One in Fifteen; in Dry-weather Years, when Provisions of the Country Growth are scarce, I have known it One in Seven in many Plantations, and the like or worse in sickly Seasons; and when the Small-Pox (which is almost as much dreaded in these *Sugar Islands* as the Pestilence is any where in *Europe*) happens to be imported, 'tis incredible what Havock it makes among our

* See *A Detection of the State and Situation of the present Sugar Planters of Barbadoes and the Leward Islands, London*, printed 1732, pag. 44.

Blacks. As to the Births ; 'tis true, the Masters allow, or connive at, *Polygamy* in their *Slaves* ; but whatever that may do in *Africa*, it is found, among other sore Mischiefs, to hinder Breeding here ; and if we consider the Numbers of Infants that die, the little Work the Mother can do for three Months before, and nine after the Birth, Midwifry, and some other Incidents, and the Maintenance of the Child for seven or eight Years, I dare say a *Slave* rear'd up here costs the Planter as much as one from *Guinea*. The Profits arising from a *Slave's* Labour does not, therefore, so soon make good the Purchase-Money as our Countryman *Moses* imagines. And when it is made good, to whom is it made good ? Does it not now begin to be known in *England*, that the Planters in her *Sugar Colonies* are least Gainers of all that are concern'd in either the *Slave* or *Sugar Trade*? And are not many or most of themselves *Slaves* (very near as much as the *Negroes* are to them) to their Creditors in *England*, to whom their Lands, and these very *Slaves* too, are mortgag'd ? Let any Man but reflect on * the frequent Mortality that is here among the *Slaves*, the frequency of Storms and Hurricanes,

* See *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, concerning the Conversion of the Negroe-Slaves*, p. 55.

accidental Fire among Canes, long-continu'd Droughts, and other Misfortunes and Calamities, to which the Masters of these Slaves are always subject ; what vast Gains Merchants in the several Branches of Trade always make of them ; the great Expence that is necessary to maintain the *Sugar* Manufacture ; the heavy Taxes they have to pay here, and the high Duties on their Manufacture when imported into *Great-Britain* : Let any Man, I say, but attend to these, and he will quickly perceive, that the Masters of the *Slaves* here neither are nor can be rich. And indeed the strange Remissness or Inadvertence of *England*, in suffering the *French* and *Dutch* *Sugar* Colonies to be supplied with *Provisions* from *Ireland*, and with *Horses*, *Lumber*, and *Provisions*, from her *Northern* Colonies, or rather in so long suffering *Ireland* and her *Northern* Colonies, to raise more *Provisions* than can be vended without exporting them to her Rivals in the *Sugar* Trade, and her not providing a Vent for *Sugar* from her *Sugar Islands* to *Spain*, the *Streights*, &c. without introducing it first into *England*, and not lessening the Duties on *Muscovadoes* consum'd within *Great Britain*, has put herself in a fair Way of losing the *Sugar* Trade, and by Consequence very much of the Trade in *Slaves* too.

When our Countryman *Moses Bon Sàam* condemns the Propogation of *Slavery* from Father to Son as a *Shameless Pretension*, methinks he shou'd have told you what the Learned among these *white Men* (whose Arts, he says, he has been studying for Sixteen Years) alledge in Defence of it; but since he has not, I will try to supply his Omission. They affirm then, with respect to the first unhappy *Captive*, that

* " As by the Right of War an Enemy
 " may fairly be kill'd, so the Conqueror,
 " if he pleases, may give him his Life,
 " upon his promise of Perpetual Service.
 " In which Contract or Composition, the
 " Good which the vanquish'd receives, is
 " the Security of his Life, which, by the
 " Right of War, might have been taken
 " away; and the Good which he engages
 " to bring to the Victor is his Service and
 " Obedience, and these, as far as possible,
 " *Absolute*. For he that obligeth himself
 " to perform the Commands of another,
 " before he knows the Particulars, is
 " bound without any Limitation or Ex-
 " ception, to do all that the other Party
 " shall enjoin;" and nothing but the *Law*
 of *Humanity* can procure him any Relief
 from this *rigorous Justice*. With respect

* Puffendorf *de Leg. Nat. & Gent.* l. 6. c. 3.
 sect. 6.

to the *Children of Slaves*, they say, * That

* Ibid. sect. 9. Servitus corporalis conditio est, cum servus sit quasi instrumentum Domini in operando; & ideo proles in — servitute sequitur matrem. T. Aquinas in *Suppl. ad tertiam Partem Summae*, Quæst. 52. Artic. 4.

Romano jure & jure gentium circa captivos, ut in bestiis, ita in servilis conditionis hominibus, partus matrem sequitur — jus dominorum in prolem servilem hoc casu nascetur, ex ipsa alimentorum & eorum quæ vitæ necessaria sunt præbitione: Ac proinde cum diu alendi fuerint è servis nati, antequam opera eorum domino utilis esse possit, & sequentes operæ sui temporis alimentis respondeant; effugere ita natis servitutem non licebit, nisi pro alimentis quantum satis est redditant. *Grotius de jure B. ac P.* ex edit. *Barbeyrac, Amst. 1720. lib. 2. c. 5. sect. 29. p. 268, 269.*

Neque vero ipsi tantum servi sunt, sed & posteri in perpetuum; nempe qui ex matre serva post servitutem nascuntur — Atque hæc jure gentium non aliam ob causam introducta sunt, quam ut tot commodis deliniti captores libenter abstinerent a summo illo rigore quo captos & statim, & post moram interficere poterant — Dixi, ut libenter abstinerent: Neque enim quasi pactio est ut abstinere cogantur, si jus hoc gentium spectes, sed modus persuadendi ab eo quod est utilius. Eademque ex causa hoc jus etiam in alios transcribitur, perinde ut rerum dominium [ut liceat, secundum *Gronovium* in *Annot. hominem sic servatum vendere vel donare vel relinquere in testamento, vel alio modo alienare cum eodem jure vel utendi vel abutendi.*] Ad natos autem dominium hoc porrigi ideo placuit, quia alioqui, si summo jure captores uterentur, illi ipsi nascituri non erant — Ideo autem natos maturnæ esse conditionis placuit gentibus, quia serviles concubitus nec lege nec certa custodia erant constricti, ita ut nulla sufficiens præsumtio patrem indicaret. *Ibid. l. 3. c. 7. sect. 2. & 4. pag. 756, 757.*

it is best just *the Birth shou'd go with the Bearer*, or *the Child with the Mother* who is always known, rather than with the *Father*, who (among *Slaves* especially) cannot be so surely known; that since in a State of *perfect Slavery*, not only the *Works* but the *Persons* belong to the Master, their *Children* will likewise fall under his Dominion, as every thing else which they produce; that the *Mother* is on Account of her Burthen, render'd for some time unfit to perform her usual Work, and consequently brings a Loss and Prejudice to her Master, which ought to be thus repair'd; and that the Master does no Injury to the *Child* in dooming it to perpetual Subjection: For since the *Mother* hath nothing of her own, 'tis impossible she shou'd maintain the *Child* but with her Master's Goods: And since the Master is oblig'd to furnish such an *Infant* with Food and other Necessaries, long before it is capable of making any Requital; and since when the *Child* begins to work, his Labour is scarce equivalent to his daily Maintenance, he cannot escape Servitude, unless by the Master's particular Dispensation. And this Reason (*say they*) will hold, not only whilst he is suppos'd to continue, as it were, in his Master's Debt, but ever after; because the Condition on which the Master first undertook to keep him, was, that he should perform

perform perpetual Service ; and to this Condition he is presum'd to have yielded a tacit Consent ; especially if it be consider'd, that his very Birth is owing to his Master's Favour, who by the Right of War might have put his Parents to Death. For * as to that *Natural Freedom* with which all Men are invested, it then only takes Place, when no Act or Agreement, of ourselves or others, hath render'd us obnoxious to a State of Inferiority.

Upon these Pillars, in the main, stood the † *Perfect Servitude* which from the Days of ||
Noah,

* *Servi natura quidem, id est, citra factum huma-
num aut primævo naturæ statu, hominum nulli sunt:
Quo sensu rectè accipi potest quod a jurisconsultis dic-
tum est, contra naturam esse hanc servitudem : Ut ta-
men facto hominis; id est, pactione aut delicto, ser-
vitus originem acciperet, justitiæ naturali non repug-
nat.* *Ibid. l. 3. c. 7. sect. 1. p. 755.*

† *Est autem servitus perfecta, quæ perpetuas ope-
ras debet pro alimentis & aliis, quæ vitæ necessitas ex-
igit : Quæ res si ita accipiatur in terminis naturalibus
[id est, inquit J. F. Gronovius, ut dominis non plus in
servos liceat, quam naturalis æquitas concedit] nihil ha-
bet in se extremæ acerbitalis. Nam perpetua ista Ob-
ligatio compensatur perpetua illa alimentorum certitu-
dine, quam sæpe non habent qui diurnas operas locant.*
Ibid. l. 2. c. 5. sect. 27. p. 266, 267.

|| *Vetusissimum Servitii nomen esse, & a Noë usque
temporibus deductum, sacra Biblia (Gen. ix. 25.) te-
stantur : Maledic̄us Chanaan, servus servorum erit
fratribus suis.—Et hoc ab ipso Noë totum effluxisse,
argumento est celebris deinceps facta mentio servorum,*
ut

Noah, or of * *Nimrod*, was in Vogue for many Ages in most Countries of the World. Whether they will also serve to support the present Slave-Trade in its *Rise*, *Progress*, and *DURATION*, I cannot say; but you shall hear how this last came about. *C. Columbus*, the first Discoverer of *America*, having taken Possession of some Parts of it for the King of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* soon discern'd that there was more profitable Work for them here than cou'd be carried on by their own Hands. About the same Time the *Portuguese* discover'd that the Swarms of Men in *Africa* were more than we cou'd employ, or knew what to do with; that many of our People were *Slaves* to their Princes or other

ut in illa *Abram* subitaria copiarum domesticarum recensione ad fratrem è captivitate eximendum *Gen.* xiv. 14. in præscriptio circumcisionis & impleto ritu *Gen.* xvii. & alibi, ubi ancillarum, vernarum, emptitorumque memoria exstat, *Gen.* x. & xxii. *Laur.* *Pignorius de Servis*, *Amst.* 1674. p. 1 & 2.

* Captivitas sane novitium inventum non fuit: Si quidem effluxit ab ipso *Nimrod*. Quæ enim leguntur in *Gen.* x. 8. Porro, Chus genuit *Nimrod*: ipse cœpit potens esse in terra, & erat robustus venator coram Domino; illa interpretatur D. *Augustin.* de *Civ. Dei*, l. 16. c. 4. de oppressione & captivitate intelligi. *Joannes Saresberiensis* aperte (*Policrat.* l. 1. c. 4.) Traditur hic [*Nimrod*] in tantam elationis erupisse vecordiam, ut non vereretur jura temerare naturæ, cum confortes conditionis & generis, quos ingenuos illa creaverat, hic addiceret Servituti. *Ibid.* p. 3.

Masters;

Masters; that by the Law, Custom, Constitution, or whatever one may call it, of our Native Countries, this *Slavery* did descend from Father to Son to latest Post-
 rity; and that these Princes or Masters wou'd sell their *Slaves* (as well as the *Captives* taken in War) on the same Terms themselves held them, to any Body that wou'd buy them. They, therefore, made what haste they could to the Market, which they found to be inexhaustible; and as soon as the *Dutch* saw what a gainful Market it was, away they crowded after them; and the *English*, *French*, &c. in process of time, getting Possessions in the *West-Indies*, did the same. Now had it not been for the never-ending Tenure of this *Slavery*, none of these *European* Nations (considering the great Expence and Risque of a Voyage from *Europe* to the Coast of *Guinea*, and from thence to the *West-Indies*; the Difficulties and Dangers of trading with our Countrymen; the first Cost of these *Slaves* in *Africa*; the Multitudes of them that die in *Transportation*, and afterwards in the *Seasoning*; the Charges their Owners must be at in the *American* Colonies in maintaining the *Mother* during her Pregnancy, and the *Child* till it grows fit for Labour; the ill Qualities that naturally, as it were, accompany *Perfect Slaves*; the endless plagues their Masters must have to keep them

them in necessary Subjection, &c.) cou'd have judg'd it worth while to buy any of them at all; and let our Countrymen in *Africa* once refuse to sell them on the same Tenure, and from that Moment these *Europeans* will bid *Adieu* to the *Trade*: But since our Countrymen there are in no such Disposition, and the Nations of *Europe* (who have some of their People at work for them here in the *West-Indies*) seem resolv'd rather to continue than to give it over, what wou'd you have the *white* Inhabitants in these Parts to do? Wou'd you have them fly in the Face of all *our* Countries in *Africa* who sell these *Slaves* first, and of *their* Mother Countries in *Europe* who buy them from ours, and after they have paid a very great Price for them, in Consideration that their Servitude is to be perpetual, and have been at no small Cost and Pains besides to train them up in the *Sugar* Manufacture, or therwise; Wou'd you, I say, have these few *white* Men take upon them to break thro' all, and set their *Slaves* thus transferr'd to them, or their Offspring, at Liberty? And if this is no such reasonable Expectation, can you think it fair in *Moses Bon Sàam* to head you, or for you to march out under his Command against the *white* Men of this Island, and in *your Anger* to bring them to *Destruction*? Cou'd he lead you forth, even against the prime Authors and Instruments

Instruments of your *Slavery*, those who sold and transported you, or your Forefathers, in the Manner that has been related, he might, for any thing I can see (since the Illegality of this Traffick is plainly a Supposition still) be very much to blame; but if these *white Men* here are not altogether innocent (which they cannot be; if they have given way to a thing in itself evil for the sake of Gain, or to prevent loss) surely they are the least guilty, the most unfortunate, and the poorest Gainers of all that are concern'd in this Trade, and therefore (even admitting it to be prov'd illegal) the least deserving, or the most improper Objects, of your Wrath and Vengeance.

I have again and again told you, how you, or your Forefathers, came to be *Slaves* here, because in your present Situation it is fit you shou'd understand it thoroughly. *Moses Bon Sàam*, to endear himself, and secure (as it wou'd seem) his Command over you, says, that *as soon as he became able to read, he discover'd (with a Mixture of Amazement and prophetick Joy, in the holiest of all Books, how the great Giver of his Name had deliver'd a certain Nation from just such a Slavery as this of our Countrymen here; just so unfair, oppressive, and unnatural; and, in every Act and Circumstance, resembling that which you and*

*your Forefathers have groaned under. Perfect Slavery, 'tis true, is much the same in any Part or Age of the World, otherwise it wou'd not be Perfect Slavery, which chiefly consists in * one's being oblig'd, by Virtue of some Contract or some Crime, to labour all his Life long for bare Food, and the other common Necessaries of Life.* But I assure you, *Moses Bon Sàam wrongs that Book*; for, not to say that the *Slaves here are never put to the Task † of making Brick without Straw*, or any thing that can be deem'd to resemble it, or that their Infants are all tenderly nurs'd up, || and the Midwives never *commanded to kill their Male-Children in the Birth*, or ‡ any one else to *cast them out into the Water to the Intent they shou'd not live*; To pass over these, I say, the Founders or Patriarchs of the Nation he speaks of were not *sold* as you have been, but were ** *invited* (by the

* Vid. *Grotium de Jure B. ac P. l. 2. c. 5. Sect. 27.*
p. 266, 267. † *Exod. v.* || *Ibid. i. 16.*

‡ *Ibid. v. 22.* and *Acts vii. 19.*

** And the Fame thereof was heard in *Pharaoh's House*, saying, *Joseph's Brethren are come*; and it pleased *Pharaoh well*, and his Servants. And *Pharaoh* said unto *Joseph*, say unto thy Brethren, this do ye; Lade your Beasts, and go, get you into the Land of *Canaan*, and take your Father, and your Households, and come unto me, and I will give you the Good of the Land of *Egypt*, and ye shall eat the Fat of the Land. Now thou art commanded, this do ye; Take you

the then King) into that Country, where, in plain Violation of the Publick Faith, they were afterwards *enslav'd*; neither did they go thither *naked*, as our Countrymen in *Africa* sent you, or your Fathers, here, in the most literal Sense of the Word, but * *carried with them their Flocks, and their Herds, and the Goods which they had got in their Native Country.*

But let it be suppos'd that under the Conduct of *Moses Bon Sàam* you cou'd achieve all the glorious Things he talks of; that far from *continuing on the defensive*, which is what he first advises, you shou'd change your Mind as quick as he contradicts himself in his *Speech, and break down, unexpected, upon the scatter'd Plantations below, and return with whatever you wish from the Storehouses of these your Enemies*, as he calls the *white People* here; *that you cou'd train and confirm your Forces, by the Discipline and Exercise they are beginning to practise; that the Negroes now with their Masters, shou'd flee to you by Night,*

you Waggons out of the Land of *Egypt* for your little Ones, and for your Wives, and bring your Father, and come. Also regard not your Stuff; for the Good of all the Land of *Egypt* is yours. And the Children of *Israel* did so: And *Joseph* gave them Waggons, according to the Commandment of *Pharaoh*, and Provisions for the Way, *Gen. xlvi. 16, &c. See Chap. xlvii. 5, 6, and 11.*

* See *Gen. xlvi. 10. xlvi. 6. xlvii. 1.*

or be drawn along with you when you make Incursions, till you shall think your very Numbers have made you invincible; nay, let it be suppos'd that you cou'd extirpate these *Whites*, or drive them from the Island; What next? why, *Moses* himself, your Captain-General, tells you, it wou'd be found an unsurmountable *Difficulty*, without Ships, and unskill'd in Navigation, to maintain your Possessions against the perpetual fresh Supplies that wou'd be pour'd in by their Fleets. It wou'd be so; but I hope he does not mean the Fleets of the white Inhabitants below; for Fleets they have none; he must therefore mean the Fleets of *England*, or *France*, &c. which doubtless wou'd be the Case, as it was at *St John's*, the *Danish* Island I mention'd to you before.

But it seems your General is not for a total Extirpation of these *Whites*; he would have you *keep to your Mountains*, where he says you have every Art within yourselves, that can be necessary for your Support and Security—can prepare Gun-powder, and find Iron every where, but that it abounds in your Enemies (these white Men's) Warehouses—and are capable of forging your own Arms, if so much Trouble were necessary; but (says he) there is a nearer Way to get Arms; 'tis but to prevent the Return of those who shall dare to invade you, and the

the Arms, which they bring for your Ruin,
 will inlarge and perpetuate your Protection—
 Then he concludes thus, “ You have all
 “ heard talk of the *Dutch*; those Rivals in
 “ Riches and Power, to the most confi-
 “ derable Princes of the Earth! What were
 “ *these*, about a hundred Years past, but a
 “ kind of *white Slaves*, to a Monarch,
 “ who now calls them his *Brothers*? Keep
 “ this inspiring *Example* in your *Eye*; and
 “ and assure yourselves that the proudest
 “ of your Enemies [still meaning the *white*
 People here, but not a Word of the prime
 Authors or Instruments of your *Slavery*,
 those who began, carried on, and are still
 improving and extending this *Slave-Trade*
 from *Africa* to the *West-Indies*] “ will em-
 “ brace you, in Spite of your *Colour*, when
 “ they foresee *Destruction* in your *Anger*;
 “ but *Ease* and *Security* in your *Friend-
 ship.*”

Friendship! Alas! that any thing that is
 called Rational shou'd so prostitute thy sa-
 cred Name! You know, none of the Seeds
 of *Friendship* are to be found in any of
 you that are come to Years, nor can you
 shew me one quiet towardly Negro in all
 your Company, one that has any thing of
 Good-Nature or Humanity in him. Are
 not the *Negro-Slaves* among the *white*
 People in these Colonies, even those of the
 same Nation and Blood, eternally quarrel-
 ling

ling with, and biting and devouring one another? How do the Parents insult and domineer over their Children, whilst young? And the Children, when grown up, over their Parents? Can so much as a Dog be in Subjection to them, which they do not misuse or starve? And is it not a thousand Times worse in these Mountains, where you have got the thing which such as *Moses Bon Sàam* call *Liberty*? Do you not, on the sorriest Provocation, and often without pretending to have had any at all, sheath your Knives or Daggers in one another's Bowels? What Beasts do the best of you shew yourselves, after you have pillag'd a Planter's Still-house of Rum? How do you lie with the Wives of the weaker and more ignorant Sort, in their Sight, and force their Daughters, even before they are ripe? And all this, and more than I can say, without ever shewing the least Sign of Remorse or Repentance? Is not your hatred to these *Whites* implacable? Wou'd you not cut all their Throats with one Knife, and in one Moment, if you knew how? And what Security, then, can you give, when once you have fortified the Highlands, and got a sufficient Provision of Arms and Ammunition in the Manner *Moses Bon Sàam* has pointed out, that you will rest content, and leave them in quiet Possession of the Lowlands? Can you

you propose Treaties of Friendship, who know not what Treaties or Friendship mean? No! Wild and wicked as you are, you will not pretend to put so manifest a Trick on your old Masters; and tho' *Moses* talks of I know not what Ease and Security in your Friendship, I am sure you are honest and open-hearted enough to own, that as soon as you have Power you will destroy them to a Man. And admit you had Power and Opportunity to destroy them, and shou'd effect their Destruction; since this is a Matter that ought to be well consider'd, give me leave to ask you once more, what must be the Consequence? why the same I just now told you: The Fleets and Armies of *England* wou'd destroy you? Or if they shou'd prove tardy, or do the Work by *Halves*, which is not to be imagin'd; I assure you, from the full Knowledge I have of the Men, the *French* from *Hispaniola*, &c. wou'd pursue you with Fire and Sword, and never quit this Island, were your Fortifications ten times larger and stronger than ever you can make them, while there was one Man, Woman, or Child of you, left alive upon it!

Be wise then, my Countrymen, and listen no longer to the Suggestions of *Moses Bon Sàam*: Submit rather forthwith to the *white* People here. They are *Englishmen*, and Cruelty is no Part of their Character; I dare promise,

promise, your Lives under them will be safer, easier, and happier than ever they can be in these Mountains.

Had I not been sold from *Africa* myself, I should have been undone! whereas now the Reverse is happily my Lot! But you will say, What is that, or a few such Instances, to the Case of so many hundred Thousands, or rather Millions, of our Countrymen, that are sold from thence? It must not therefore be dissembled, that there are those among the *Whites* themselves who dislike this Slave-Trade from its Commencement in *Africa*, to its Consummation (if that may be said to be consummated which is propagating to latest Posterity) in *America*; nay some of them venture farther, and [upon seriously considering the Nature and Circumstances of this Trade throughout, the Maxims of Interest on which the whole of it is founded, how the principal Nations professing *Christianity* are one way or other embarked in it, the many Lives it destroys, and the little Care that is or can be taken of their Souls] doubt not to say, that, in their Opinion, very few such Pieces of Wickedness have ever been acted on the Face of the Earth: At the same time they confess, that all the Parties concerned in it do not appear to them to be equally guilty, or, that the *Whites* in the *West-Indies*, who are the last Receivers of these *Slaves*, are no deeper Sharers

ters in the Guilt than they are in the Gain ; which hath been already prov'd (with respect to the *British Sugar Planters*) to be the least of any that are concern'd in it. But whatever may be in these Mens Notions, whether with regard to this *Slave-Trade* in general, or to the Part the *British* Planters in the *West-Indies* bear in it, 'tis certain that the Part these Planters bear in it has brought, and daily brings them under the severest Censures in *England* ; where the Way of thinking or speaking on this Subject tallies exactly with yours in these Mountains : No Body there, any more than you do here, blames, or is heard to blame, our Countrymen in *Africa* who sell these *Slaves* first, or the *English* Merchants who buy them, and by this Craft have their Wealth, or *England*, the grand Gainer, for protecting and encouraging a Trade, which consists in selling and buying Men and Women in one Quarter of the World, and selling and buying them again in another ; but the whole Load of Blame and Guilt, if there is any Blame or Guilt in such Traffick, is cast on the *white* People in these Parts, and on them alone. I could tell those in *England* who do so, were they in my Way, or I in theirs, that their Censures have disconcerted not a few of the *Sugar Planters*, and put them at length on casting about for other

Employment, which may not be so profitable to their Mother Country as Sugar-making ; nor can their great Stock in *Slaves*, *Sugar*, Utensils, &c. hinder them from so doing, there being plenty of Chapmen in the other *European Colonies* here, who wou'd gladly take them off their Hands at any Price : Among the rest, I must own, that their Censures have put me not a little out of Tune ; for I have a Family, and from the Date of my Freedom have been set on a Level with the *Whites*, who are pleas'd to reckon me as one of themselves ; and what by the Bounty of my old and young Master, what by my own Application to Business, I have for some Time been Owner of a small Freehold Estate in Land ; and my Family-Hands not being sufficient to manure the same, and no free Hands being to be got here to manure it, I was therefore (as any Man in *Europe*, who shou'd live on this Island in Circumstances like mine, wou'd also be) forced as it were of Necessity to buy some of our Countrymen from *Guinea*, in the very same fashion I was bought here myself : Now tho', you may believe, I have used them as well as the Nature and Genius of such Servitude will bear ; yet it gives me many sad and anxious Thoughts, not that their Colour and mine is the same, or that we are

of

of the same Kindred and Country, but that I, or any other Freeman, shou'd at all contribute to the Support and Propagation of *Slavery*. I often make the Case of the *Negroe-Slaves* my own, and sometimes suppose myself to be accounting for it (as all concern'd must one Day do) at the last *Tribunal*; and being very lately pretty deep in one of these Contemplations, me-thought the Great Judge ask'd, how I came to be concern'd in the *Slavery* of my Fellow-Creatures; *Why* (said he) *did you not rather quit the Way of Life you was engag'd in, and betake yourself to some other?* *Or, if you cou'd find no other, why did you not trust to my Care and Providence?* *Cou'd you imagine that I descended from Heaven to Earth, and suffer'd as I did there, to purchase a Licence for any Man, or Species of Men, to violate the Laws of Nature?* At these Words (*Blessed Jesu!* have Mercy upon us?) *aghast, upstared my Hair, I speechless stood!* and as soon as my Terror abated, I sent to some that are said to be the ablest Casuists among both *Royalists* and *Republicans*, as well as to some of their several *Retainers*, in *England*, humbly imploring them to clear up the Case; and in Six or Seven Months from this Time I expect an Answer from some one or more of either Party: In particular,

had I known where to direct to him, I wou'd have ask'd the same Favour of an Illustrious and Learned *Prelate* there (whose Name, tho' consecrated above twenty Years, I don't remember to have seen in any of the *Lifts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts*) which I'm sure his great Humanity, and concern for Truth and Right above all By-considerations that can be nam'd, and for the Quiet of so many Consciences, and the honest thriving of the Community, wou'd readily have induced him to grant; and I am much out in my Conjectures, if his Lordship has not often wish'd for a fair Opportunity of declaring his Mind on this very Subject.

Well! Let their Determination be what it will, I wou'd have you, my Countrymen, to refrain from all further Violences to the *Whites* below. None of you that considers, will deny that there is such a Being above as these *Englishmen* call *G O D*, and that He is powerful, good, and just, and sees and over-rules whatever is done upon Earth: And such of you as were come to Years of Discretion before you left *Africa*, are all persuaded, that immediately after Death you will return again to your Native Countries. Now 'tis plain your Bodies cannot return thither; for do but

but open the Graves of any of our Countrymen that have died here, and you will still find their Bodies, or their Bones and Dust, in the Graves where you buried them. What returns then must be something else, even the Thing that is in every one of us, by which we think, and consider, and can judge of what is right and what is wrong. This these *English* call *the Soul*, which is the same in you that it is in them, and me, and in all Mankind. And wherever these your *Souls* go, whether to your Native Countries, or elsewhere, you may be sure they go there for some End and Purpose. I know you will allow, that such of them as behav'd aright in their Bodies, will enjoy Pleasure, and that such as did not, will suffer Pain. You had need therefore, my Brethren, to take good heed what you do now while you live. Hearken not to this *Moses Bon Sàam*, he will lead you on, *for certain*, to the Death of your Bodies, and, *for ought I see*, to the worse Damage of your *Souls*, which you believe will go from hence to another Place after the Death of your Bodies.

In setting forth the Case of this *Slave-Trade*, nothing has been conceal'd that seemed to me to make *for* or *against* either the *Enslavers* or the *enslaved*; if *Moses Bon Sàam* thinks otherwise, or that his

Speech

Speech has been unfairly dealt with, he may speak again: Nor am I sensible that any thing of Moment, relating to your Case in particular, has been omitted, unless something shou'd have been said of the *Spanish Negroes* who retreated hither when the *English* took this Island; and of them, I can only say, that as their Number was but small, so their Children have all along so intermix'd with the *Slaves* that came up from their Masters below, that there is no distinguishing them now, nor can yourselves tell with any certainty which of you are the Descendants of those *Negroes*. If, after considering what has been, or may be offer'd, you shall still think yourselves injur'd, it remains (and I wou'd say the same to all our *enslav'd* Countrymen every where) that the Resolution of the Matter be left to that GOD I was telling you of, *who made the World and all Things that are in it, and rules over all*. I assure you *He is no Respecter of Persons*, but regards the *Negroes* as much as he does these *English*, or any *white Men* whatever; for we with our black Skins are the Work of his Hands as well as the best of them, and he careth for us all alike; the only thing that weighs with him is the Right and Merits of the Case, and the Behaviour of People, be they *White*, be

be they *Black*; and He will make such as behave well more happy, and such as behave ill more miserable, than I, or any other Mortal can express. And for your Consolation, I can assure you too, that as the GOD I speak of is a Lover of Truth, Righteousness, and Mercy, so He is an irreconcileable Enemy to all Violence and Injustice, Cruelty and Oppression, and has often interpos'd *specially* to cut them off.

As to the *Slave-Trade* in general, if there is Iniquity in it, if it is an unjust Invasion of the Law of Nature; Who knows but this most mighty, good, and righteous GOD may, sooner than is apprehended, put it into the Hearts of those who bear sway in our Countries, and into the Hearts of such *European* Nations as conspire with them in it, to conspire in breaking it off? Who knows but He may inspire a certain People in *Europe* (whose Strength at Sea is great, and may be made almost what they please) to take the whole upon themselves, and put a Stop to it with their Shipping at the Fountain-head? What then? our Governors in *Africa* must devise some other Way to employ their Hands than by selling them abroad for *Slaves*; the *Slave-Merchants* of *Europe* will lose a very gainful Trade, and be forced

forced to look out for some other, or to rest content with that of *Gold Dust*, *Elephants Teeth*, &c. which those I now mean might then easily ingross ; *Spain* and *Portugal* (notwithstanding all their Seisures, Indultos, *Piezas de India*, and other Rants at present) cou'd not, or not for Ages, and perhaps never to purpose, work their Gold and Silver Mines ; *France* and *Holland* must soon decline in the *Sugar Manufacture* ; *England* cou'd support it better (as might be prov'd) than any Nation whatsoever ; the Value of some Things at Market wou'd return to what it was when *Columbus* made his first Discoveries ; that *European Country* which cou'd best maintain Manufactures, Fishing, and Agriculture, would be the most considerable ; and the People, thus pursuing the Path to Glory, would become Arbiters of the Affairs (not of one Quarter only, but) of the greater Part of our habitable Globe. But supposing GOD to do neither, and that all probable Means should be laid aside, or come to nought, He has many Ways of setting Things that are wrong to rights, which the wisest of his Creatures are ignorant of, and must not presume to dive into. Your Part is exceeding plain, even to make yourselves, and all you are concern'd with, as easy as possible ; and how that is to

to be done, you have heard. These *black Creole* Tyrants are but a Handful; Let them be tied Hand and Foot, and I will come up again when you shall think fit, and doubt not but to bring with me such Articles in your behalf, from the *white* People below, as will be to your liking. Till then, farewell.



M THE

THE
S P E E C H
O F
Moses Bon Saam,
A
F R E E - N E G R O ,

At the Head of those Revolted Slaves,
who have betaken themselves to the
Mountains, in one of the most consider-
able Colonies in the *West-Indies.*

*Taken from the London Magazine for the
Month of January, 1735, p. 13.*

Dear Fellows in Arms, and Brothers in Adversity !

HAD your *Sufferings* been less painful, I might have enjoyed my own *Ease*, in an Exemption from Danger. But in vain did my Courage once exerted, as you have heard, in Defence of a *Master*, redeem me from the *Name* of a *Slave* ! I found no Blessing in Freedom ; tormented with a livelier Sense of your Groans, because no longer a *Partaker* of your Misery.

While I was, formerly, one of your Number, and but a Wretch, among Wretches, I wanted *Sentiments* to reflect, with *Justice*, on the Wrongs we are accustom'd to suffer. Whether ignorant of the *Bliss* of others, I discern not my own *Misery* : Or, that the Part I was condemn'd to bear, in so general a Calamity, had deaden'd in my Heart that *Pity*, which

which has been *awaken'd* by my Change of Fortune. But, I have *since* been *taught* your Wretchedness, by sixteen Years of Liberty ; not spent in *Ease* and *Luxury*, like the Lives of our Oppressors ; but in long, laborious Diligence in Pursuit of their *Arts*, and *Capacity* ; whereby to know, and make known, that only Education, and Accident, *not* Difference of *Genius*, have been the Cause of this provoking *Superiority*, that bids the Pride of a *white* Man despise and trample on a *black* one.

What Preference, in the Name of that *mysterious God*, whom these Insulters of our *Colour* pretend to worship ; what wild imaginary Superiority of Dignity has their pale sickly *Whiteness* to boast of, when compar'd with our *Majestick Glossiness* ! If there is Merit in *Delicacy*, we have *Skins* as soft as their *Velvets* : If in *Manliness*, Consider your *Shape*, your *Strength*, and your *Movement* ! Are they not all easier, firmer, and more graceful ? Let a *white* Man expose his feeble Face to the *Winds* ; let him climb Hills *against Rains* : Let him go burn his uncover'd Temples in the Heat of High-Noon, as *we* do. Will he bear it too, as *we* do ? No : The Variations of his changeable *Countenance* will make manifest the *Faintness* he was born to. He will be *sick*, and grow *pale*, and *red*, by Turns : He will be *haggard*, *rough*, and *Sun-burnt*. Tho' terrible and haughty to his *Slaves*, he will *lose* all Fierceness in his Eye, by the smallest Struggle with those *Elements*, which *we* are *Proof* against the *Rage* of.

The whole *Advantage*, then, of these proud *Spoilers* of the *Work of God*, who dare make *Beasts* of human Forms, as noble and more manly than their own, in *what* consists it, but superior *Happiness* ? They are not wiser by *Nature*, but more exercis'd in *Art*, than *we* are. They are not *braver*, but more *crafty*, and assist their Anger by *Discipline*. They have *Rules* and *Modes* in War ; which actuate, as by one *Soul*, the most numerous *Bodies* of arm'd People. While *we*, depriv'd of such *Improvement*, and acting resolutely, but not dependently, divide

and *lose* our Firmness. You saw the Representation of it, but last Week, in an Example, from this neighbouring *River*: As if the *God*, that animates your Purpose, had *commanded* it to *overflow*, for your Instruction and Warning! Observe, how narrow it looks at present: Yet, because it runs confin'd, *within* its *Banks*, hark! How *roaringly* it rushes down upon the Low-Lands of our Enemy! And with how steady and resolute a Torrent! The other Day, you saw it *broader*: For it rose among the Woods, and almost floated our *Savannah*. But, was it the *louder*, for such *Breadth*? Was it, then, *thus foaming* and *terrible*? Far from it; you can all remember, as I do, that it was then *flat*, *tame*, and *muddy*; and had neither *Violence* nor *Tendency*.

As soon as I became able to *read*, I discover'd, in the *holiest* of all Books, in the *Fountain* of white Men's Religion; I discover'd there, with a Mixture of Amazement and *prophetic Joy*, that the very Man, from whom they had deriv'd the *Name* they had given me, of *Moses*, had been the happy *Deliverer* of a *Nation*! Of a *Nation chosen* and *belov'd* by *God*! the Deliverer of this chosen Nation, from just such a *Slavery* as *ours*! Just so unfair, oppressive, and unnatural; and, in every Act and Circumstance, resembling that, which you and your Forefathers have *groan'd* under! Innumerable Thousands of his captive Countrymen were as darkly ignorant as *you* are: All unknowing their own Rights; and forc'd, like you, to *labour* for ungrateful, and merciless *Masters*: Till this first *Moses*, this great Giver of my *Name*, was called out by *Heaven*; and thro' a Course of miraculous Events, instructed in the *Arts* and *Learning* of those insolent *Enslavers*: That so he might be worthy, in the Fullness of *God's Time*, to stand out, *his Instrument*, for the Redemption of a *People*.

What now will our Task-masters pretend to object against the *Lawfulness* of our Revolt? If they say our Forefathers were *Slaves*: So were the Ancestors of those Heroes, whom *their Moses*, their almost

most worship'd *Moses*, deliver'd from Slavery. Will they urge, *that they have paid a Price*; and, therefore, claim us as their *Property*? Grant them the *Life* of a *first* unhappy *Captive*, to repay this *Claim* of his proud Purchaser. But did they also *buy* his *Race*? Must the *Childrens Children* of this *Wretch's Children* be *begotten*, and *transmitted* to *Slavery*, because that single *Wretch* himself was unsuccesful in a *Battle*, and had been put to *Sale* instead of *Slaughter*?

Perish the provoking Image of so *shameless* a *Pretension*! Let them recollect, how soon the *Profits*, which they too well knew to *make*, from any one of our poor Father's *Toils*, repaid them for his barbarous Purchase. Let them *tell us*, (if they dare see *Truth*, in any Light that shews them not their *Interest*) whether all the *Pomp*, the *Pride*, the *Wantonness*, of that *Prosperity* we see them live in, is not the *Purchase* of our *Sweat*, our *Tears*, and our *Distresses*? And shall they derive their very *Luxury* from *Wretches*, to whom they grudge the *Bread* of *Nourishment*? Shall they *rejoice*, but by our *Affliction*, yet deny their *Pity* to our *Agonies*?

Indulge me, dear Friends! Your Permission, to *stop here and weep*. I know it is a *Weakness*: And it shall possess me but a Moment. I will recover my Voice as soon as I am *able*; and go on to *enumerate* your *Miseries*!

Alas! It is not *possible*! It is *too terrible* a Task! I have neither Patience nor Breath enough to *find Names* for your *Sorrows*! Wou'd to Heav'n I cou'd as easily banish them from my Memory, as I can forbear to disgrace you by their Description! But *Fancy* will not suffer me to *forget* them. *Imagination*, officious to *torment* me, invades my *Sleep* with your *Shriekings*. My very *Dreams* are made *bloody* by your *Whips*. I am insulted by the *Scoffs*, the *Gruelties*, the grinding, biting *Insolence*, which we train up our poor Children to the Taste of! Why rejoic'd we at their Birth, unhappy, innocent, *Bleeders*? Or, why do they *smile* in our *Faces*, since we intend them

them but for *Anguish* and *Agony*? Yet, they *know* we have no *Comfort* to give them. Such as is ours, they *inherit*! Happier Parents bequeath *Money*, and *Vanity*, and *Indolence*, to their Offspring. Alas! these are *Legacies*, for *Freemen*! We have nothing but our *Shame* to bestow on our Posterity: Nothing, but the *Shame* of our *Baseness*, who have lengthen'd out our *Slavery* to *out-last* even *Life*, by assigning them our Children, on whom to practise our *Tortures*. But I have *done* with the *Horrors* of this *Subject*: You have awaken'd me, by that lamentable *Howl*, into a *Repentance* that I touch'd you *too sensibly*. Let us think then no more upon what we *have suffer'd*. Let us resolve to *suffer no longer*.

In the *Fastnesses* of these *inaccessible Mountains*, and among *Forests*, so dark and impenetrable, we shall have *little to fear*, if we but continue on the *Defensive*. Here are *Savannahs* for *Cattle*; and *burnt Woods* for *Corn*: And, as other things, which we *have not*, shall be wanted, there are so many *Outlets* and *Descents*, on every Side, for *Excursion*, that we can break down, unexpected, upon the scatter'd *Plantations* below us; and return with whatever we *wish*, from the *Store-houses* of our *Enemy*. Let us therefore repress *Malice* and *Cruelty*: Let us rather study to *support* our *new Liberty*, than *revenge* our *past Slavery*. While we *train* and *confirm* our *Forces*, by the *Discipline* and *Exercise* they are *beginning to practise*, we shall grow stronger, both by our *Skill*, and our *Numbers*: For all of our *Colour*, whose *Hearts* have not *whiten'd* themselves, in *Terror* of their *imperious Torturers*, will borrow *Safety* from the *Night*, and *escape* to us from every *Quarter*. Or, should such Opportunities be taken from them, by the *Vigilance* of their *Masters*, we can encourage, and draw them with us, as often as we make *Incursions*, thereby weakening at once our *Enemy*, and increasing our own *Strength*, till our very *Numbers* shall have made us *invincible*.

I know there are some rash Spirits among us, who affirm that much *more* is *possible*: Perhaps it may be so,

so, to our *Courage*; but it ought to be unattempted by our *Prudence*. For, even cou'd we extirpate our Enemies, and drive them out of the Island, it wou'd be found an unsurmountable Difficulty, *without Ships*, and unskill'd in *Navigation*, to maintain our Possession of the cultivated and *open Coasts*, against perpetual fresh Supplies, which wou'd be pour'd in, by their Fleets, for Recovery of *rich Townships*, and Settlements. Whereas, *here*, we shall have only their *Pride* to contend with: Their *Avarice* will not envy us our *Mountains*, where, yet, we have every *Art*, within ourselves, that can be necessary for our Support and Security. They *taught* us these *Arts*, for our *Misery*: But *God*, more just, and more merciful, has turn'd them to our *Benefit*.

I have shewn *Sulphur* and *Saltpetre* to your Captains, in several Places, upon our Hills. You have Hand-mills in every Company, for preparing your *Gun-powder*, that most precious of all your Possessions. You might every where find *Iron*; but that it abounds in your *Enemies Warehouses*. Having *Artists* too, who are *capable*, we might *forge* our own *Arms*, if so much trouble were necessary: But there is a *nearer Way* to obtain 'em. It is but to prevent the *Return* of those who shall *dare* to *invade* us, and the *Arms*, which they bring for our *Ruin*, will enlarge and perpetuate our *Protection*.

Let us understand then, and accept *God's Bounty*. Let us *divide*, and *appropriate*, the Highlands. Let us *plant*, and *possess*, for Posterity. Cultivating *Law* too, as well as *Land*, let us, by submitting to *Government*, become too *generous* for *Slavery*. As often as the Enemy, from the *Coasts* of the Island, shall attempt to dislodge us from its *Centre*, let 'em find us too *strong* for their *Anger*: But if they content themselves with *their own*, and leave us in *Possession* of our *Lot*, let them acknowledge us *too kind* for their *Cruelty*. They must always *want* the *Cattle*, which we can never be depriv'd of, but in *Traffick*: And we may receive, in *Exchange*, a thousand Things, for our

our *Ease*; which it will be more for their Benefit to
sell us, than provoke us to conquer.

Be of *Comfort* therefore, my Friends! and *hope all*
things from Patience. Even *Time* that runs on en-
creasing, till it shall be *lost* in *Eternity*, forms its *Pro-*
gress but *slowly*. Tho' *Ages* appear *vast Spaces*, they
have all been measur'd by *Moments*. Be not, there-
fore, *too hasty*. Content yourselves to be thought
weak, for a *while*, till you have secur'd and deepen'd
your *Foundation*. The Building will *rise*, *stronger*,
more broad, and *more beautiful*. You have all heard
talk of the *Dutch*; those Rivals in Riches and Power,
to the most considerable Princes of the Earth! What
were *these*, about a hundred Years past, but a Kind
of *white Slaves*, to a Monarch, who *now* calls them
his *Brothers*? Keep this inspiring *Example* in your
Eye; and assure yourselves, that the proudest of your
Enemies will *embrace* you, in spite of your *Colour*,
when they foresee *Destruktion* in your *Anger*; but *Ease*
and *Security*, in your *Friendship*.

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